Les Prétentions du Violoncelle: The Cello as a Solo Instrument in France in the pre-Duport Era (1700–1760)

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Francis Yapp
University of Canterbury

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Contents

Abstract

When Hubert Le Blanc published his *Défence de la basse de viole* in 1741, the cello had already established itself as a solo instrument in Parisian musical life. Several cellists, both French and foreign, had performed to acclaim at the *Concert Spirituel*, and the instrument had a rapidly expanding repertoire of published solo sonatas by French composers. Among the most significant of the early French cellist-composers were Jean Barrière (1707–47), François Martin (c. 1727–c. 1757), Jean-Baptiste Masse (c. 1700–1757), and Martin Berteau (1708/9–1771). Their cello sonatas are innovative, experimental, often highly virtuosic, and, in spite of unashamedly Italianate traits, tinged with a uniquely French hue.

Yet notwithstanding its repertoire and the skill of its performers, this generation of French cellist-composers has remained undervalued and underexplored. To a large extent, this neglect has arisen because a succeeding generation of French cellists of the late eighteenth century—the Duport brothers, Jean-Pierre (1741–1818) and Jean-Louis (1749–1819), the Janson brothers, Jean-Baptiste-Aimé (1742–1823) and Louis-Auguste-Joseph (1749–1815), and Jean-Baptiste Bréval (1753–1823)—are widely acknowledged as the creators of the modern school of cello playing.

This dissertation focuses exclusively on the early French cello school. It seeks to examine the rise of the solo cello in France within its sociocultural and historical context; to provide biographies of those comprising the early French cello school; to explore the repertoire with particular emphasis on the growth of technique and idiom, detailing features that may be described as uniquely French, and to assert the importance of and gain recognition for this school, not as a forerunner of the so-called Duport school but as an entity in itself.

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Conventions and Terms

Numbering of bar numbers in music examples begins at the first full bar. The Helmholtz system is used for pitch: *C* refers to the open C-string of the cello; *c* to the open C-string of the viola; *c′* to middle C; *c″* to the octave above middle C.

Original spellings of tempi designations of individual movements have been retained; however, only the initial word of tempi designations is capitalized in this dissertation.

Standard RISM siglia for libraries (F-Pn, GB-Lbl) have been used throughout.

Unless otherwise stated, translations from French are my own.

The terms 'viola da gamba', and '(bass) viol' are used to refer to the French *basse de viole,* to avoid confusion between the terms *basse de viole* and *basse de violon*. A player of the former instrument is referred to as a 'viol player'.

The term *basse de violon* refers to the instrument tuned *B♭–F–c–g,* larger than a modern cello and originally used as the bass instrument in ensembles such as the *Vingt-quatre violons du Roi.* The instrument is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Abbreviations

GMO:Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, ed. by Dean Root. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>
MGG: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Personenteil, ed. by Ludwig Finscher, 2nd rev. ed., 17 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994–2007)
*ECCS: T*he Eighteenth-Century Continuo Sonata, ed. by Jane Adas, 10 vols (New York: Garland, 1991)
RISM: *Répertoire international des sources musicales*

Introduction

> Le Violoncel, qui jusques là s'étoit vu misérable cancre, haire, & pauvre Diable, dont la condition avoit été de mourir de faim, point de franche libée, maintenant se flatte qu'à la place de la Basse de Viole, il recevra mainte caresses; déjà il se forge une félicité qui le fait pleurer de tendresse.
> — Le Blanc, *Défense de la basse de viole contre les entreprises du violon et les prétentions du violoncelle,* 1740. [1]

> Les jaloux du Violoncelle perdront toujours leurs tentatives contre le progrès qu'il fait tous les jours; au Reste il a pour lui toutes les oreilles sensibles a l'harmonie, aussi les voix sont-elles charmées d'etre accompagnée par lui.
> — Corrette, *Méthode . . . pour apprendre le violoncelle dans sa perfection,* 1741. [2]

> Parlons maintenant du Violoncelle, qui est sans contestation un des plus beaux Instrumens, & celui qui a le plus de ressource, puisque l'on peut l'employer généralement partout.
> — Ancelet, *Observations sur la musique,* 1757. [3]

That the cello might be accused of *prétentions* [4] seems surprising in our own era, where it enjoys a position among the most esteemed of solo instruments, with a canonical repertoire stretching from Bach to Dutilleux.

1. "The Violoncello, which until now had been regarded as a miserable dunce, a poor hated devil, who had been dying of hunger, with no hearty free meals, now flattered himself that he would receive many caresses instead of the viol; already he imagined a happiness which made him weep with tenderness." Hubert Le Blanc, *Défense de la basse de viole contre les entreprises du violon et les prétentions du violoncelle* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1740; repr. Geneva: Minkoff, 1975), pp. 36–37; English translation from Barbara Garvey Jackson, 'Hubert Leblanc's *Défense de la Viole*', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America,* 10 (1973), 11–28; 69–80 (p. 26).

2. "Those detractors of the cello will always waste their efforts in view of the progress it is making every day; besides, it has the ears of all those sensitive to harmony, and singers are delighted to be accompanied by it." Michel Corrette, *Methode, théorique et pratique, pour apprendre en peu de tems le violoncelle dans sa perfection* (Paris: Castagnery; Lyons: de Brotonne, 1741; repr. in *Violoncelle: Méthodes et traités, dictionnaires, préfaces des œuvres,* ed. by Philippe Lescat and Jean Saint-Arroman, Méthodes et Traités 2, Série I: France 1600–1800 (Courlay: Fuzeau, 2004), (p. B).

3. "Let us now speak of the cello, which is indisputably one of the most beautiful instruments, and one of the most versatile, since one can generally use it everywhere." Ancelet, *Observations sur la musique, les musiciens, et les instrumens* (Amsterdam: [n. pub.], 1757; repr. *Violoncelle: Méthodes et traités*), p. 25

4. The term *prétentions* in this context is the equivalent of the English 'aspirations' rather than 'pretences'.

The situation in early eighteenth-century France, however, was quite different. In the earliest years of the century, the cello was practically unknown. Its ancestor, the *basse de violon*, was seen merely as a functional bass in the continuo group at the Opéra and as a support to the violin in the repertoire of dance music. Even the violin itself was viewed as a decidedly lower-status instrument, suitable only for dancing masters, tavern fiddlers and jobbing musicians.[5] Meanwhile, *conniosseurs* and *amateurs* of fine music delighted in the delicate timbre of the viola da gamba, seen as a treasured French instrument.

By 1740, however, when Le Blanc's pamphlet was published, the situation had changed considerably. The viol was fast becoming unfashionable, replaced by the bolder and more brilliant violin and cello.[6] Corrette's cello treatise, published the following year, makes the situation clear: "Now in the *Musique du Roy,* at the Opera, and in concerts, it is the cello which plays the basso continuo".[7] What Corrette omits to say is that by this stage the cello already had a substantial, ever-growing repertoire of sonatas and other solo works, including two concertos by French composers, the first of which was published in 1729.[8] The first cello solos at the *Concert Spirituel*, given by the Italian Salvatore Lanzetti, had been heard several years earlier in 1736; these were soon followed by two performances by the French virtuoso cellist Jean Barrière (1707–1747) in 1738, and an ever-increasing number of performances in the 1740s and 50s.

Thus the cello was not only challenging the viol in the domain of continuo playing, it was also competing as a solo instrument. It is perhaps here that the real *prétentions* lay: how could an instrument whose repertoire had been

5. Lecerf, for example, wrote in 1705 that the violin "is not *noble* in France. . . . That is, Mademoiselle, that one sees few gentlemen of means who play it and many lowly Musicians who make their living by it" (cited in James Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau,* rev. edn. (London: Batsford, 1978), p. 293). Even as late as 1743, the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* could offer the following definition of 'Violon': "Violin is also a term of abuse and scorn which means fool, impertinent fellow. To consider a man a *Violon* is as if one were to place him in the ranks of the *Ménestriers* who go from cabaret to cabaret playing a violin and increasing the pleasure of the drunkards" (cited in Anthony, p. 294).

6. Marin Marais (1656–1728), considered the greatest of the French viol virtuosi, had died 12 years before the publication of Le Blanc's *Défense.* Antoine Forqueray (1672–1745) was still playing publicly at this time, as evidenced by a favourable review in the *Mercure* in August 1738, but, according to Lucy Robinson, his style was far more influenced by the French violin school. It was not just the viol that was becoming unfashionable, but the older, Lullian style of French music in general—other than the operas of Lully himself, which were frequently revived by the Paris Opéra.

7. "Présentement a la Musique du Roy, a l'Opera, et dans les Concerts, c'est le Violoncelle qui joüe la basse continue." Corrette, *Méthode*, p. A.

8. Joseph Bodin de Boismortier's Op. 29 (1729), containing five cello sonatas and a concerto for solo cello and strings, was the first French publication of solo cello music. The concerto also qualifies as the the first French solo concerto for any instrument.

the continuo line challenge the dominance not only of the subtle and delicate viol, but of the brilliant and spirited violin? For gentlemen of Le Blanc's vintage, educated in the tastes of the Louis XIV era, the affront was even worse: the cello was irrevocably Italian, an invader from a rival country with bizarre and incomprehensible musical tastes. Yet challenge it did, and so successfully, that by the late eighteenth century several French cellists were among the leading virtuosi of the instrument. Among the most celebrated of these are the Duport brothers, Jean-Pierre (1741–1818) and Jean-Louis (1749–1819), the Janson brothers, Jean-Baptiste-Aimé (1742–1823) and Louis-Auguste-Joseph (1749–1815), and Jean-Baptiste Bréval (1753–1823). These were leaders in pedagogy as well as performance, and to this day the "French cello school", synonymous with Duport's generation and their legacy, is widely acknowledged and esteemed. [9]

Despite the importance of the Duport school, relatively little attention has been paid to its precursors, the French cellists of the period of challenge, 1700–1760, who laid the groundwork in terms of developing the cello's technique and idiom, and composed a significant body of highly interesting cello sonatas themselves. While Martin Berteau (1708/9–1771), the teacher of Jean-Pierre Duport and several other prominent late eighteenth-century French cellists, has been acclaimed as the "founder of the French school of cello playing" [10] and even of the "first important school of cello playing", [11] less interest has been shown in Berteau's contemporaries and antecedents, and even less in the solo repertoire they created. Yet, as Adas has acknowledged, Berteau "was not the only innovative French cellist in this period". [12] She names Jean Barrière (mentioned above) and François Martin (1727–47), as two other leading French cellists in this period. In fact, these were only two of the most outstanding of an entire generation of French cellist-composers, among whom were Jean-Baptiste Masse (c. 1700–c. 1757), Louis Patouart (d. c. 1760), Jean Baur (1719–after 1773), Thomas (first name and dates unknown), François-Joseph Giraud (d. after 1788), Lepin (first name and dates unknown), Jean-Baptiste Chrétien (c. 1730–c. 1760) and Charles-Henri de Blainville (1711–69).

9. On the continuing influence of the French cello school in our own time, see Marie-Elaine Gagnon, 'The Influence of the French Cello School in North America' (unpublished doctoral essay, University of Miami, 2006). <http://scholarlyrepository.miami.edu/oa_dissertations/47> [accessed 30 April 2012]

10. See, for example, Margaret Campbell, 'Masters of the Baroque and Classical Eras', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cello,* ed. by Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 52–60 (p. 54).

11. Jane Adas, 'Le célèbre Berteau', *Early Music,* 17 (1989), p. 379, claims that due to his influence, Berteau should be considered not only the founder of the French school, but of the entire modern school of cello playing.

12. Adas, p. 375.

From this we can see that a surprisingly large number of significant cellist-composers were active in Paris in the first half of the eighteenth century, all of whom contributed to a body of solo cello music that was often virtuosic, certainly original and innovative, and, notwithstanding the overtly Italianate associations of the cello and of the sonata, tinged with a uniquely French hue. Scholarly modern editions of this repertoire are still comparatively few, as are facsimiles of the considerable quantity that has survived in the original printings. [13] However, in recent years there has been a small but increasing interest in the early French cello repertoire, evidenced by a growing number of recordings, concert performances, and facsimile editions.

This increased interest in performance, however, has not been matched by a commensurate depth of scholarly activity. Indeed, in spite of the acknowledged importance of Berteau in the history of French cello playing, there is yet to be an in-depth investigation of what can argued to be the early French cello school; previous studies have tended to consider the first half-century merely as a prelude to the later 'Duport' school. While the earliest French cellists and their compositions have been examined in the context of broader studies, this is the first dissertation to focus exclusively on this pre-Duport school.

The early French cellists have had a minor presence in scholarly histories of the cello, dating back to the earliest studies. In Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski's pioneering *The Violoncello and its History,* short paragraphs are devoted to the brothers L'abbé (L'abbé *l'aîné* [Pierre-Philippe Saint-Sévin, c. 1700–1768] and L'abbé *le cadet* [Pierre Saint-Sévin, c. 1710–1777]), Berteau's pupil Jean-Baptiste Cupis (b. 1741), as well as Edouard (dates and first name unknown), Blainville, and Giraud. [14] Embedded in the discussion of Italian cellists, Wasielewski devotes one paragraph to Jean-Baptiste Stück (1680–1755), who together with the brothers L'abbé, is considered one of the first French cellists. [15] The book also includes a summary of Corrette's *Méthode*, understandable considering it is the only cello treatise from the first half of the eighteenth century. [16]

In 1914, Edmund van der Straeten brought out his *History of the Violoncello.* [17] While this incorporates most of Wasielewski's earlier work, it adds considerably to the discussion of the early French cellists. Biographies now include Barrière (pp. 261–62), Masse (pp. 262–63), and Cupis *l'aîné* and those

13. A bibliography devoted to these early editions is given at the start of Chapter 4.

14. Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski, *The Violoncello and Its History,* trans. by Isobella Stigand (London: Novello, Ewer, 1894; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), p. 87–88 and 93–94.

15. Wasielewski, pp. 52–53.

16. Wasielewski, pp. 56–61.

17. Edmund Sebastian Joseph van der Straeten, *History of the Violoncello, the Viol da Gamba, their Precursors and Collateral Instruments with Biographies of All the Most Eminent Players of Every Country* (London: Reeves, 1914; repr. 1971), pp. 258–273.

of Stück, the brothers L'abbé and Berteau are also expanded, principally with anecdotal information. In addition, there is some discussion of the instrument itself, especially the possibility of a five-stringed cello (p. 260) and most significantly, partial lists of the cellists in the orchestras of the *Concert Spirituel* and the "Grand Opera" *(Académie Royale de Musique)* in 1755 (p. 261).

Following these pioneering studies, there was no new research on the early French cello school for several decades; certainly no parallel to La Laurencie's monumental *L'École française de violon*.[18] However, interest in the eighteenth-century French cello school began to increase from the 1960s, resulting in two landmark doctoral theses: G. Jean Shaw's *The Violoncello Sonata Literature in France during the Eighteenth Century,* and Sylvette Milliot's *Le Violoncelle en France au XVIII*e *siècle.*[19] Shaw's study, which set out to "establish and trace the role of the violoncello as a solo instrument in the eighteenth century and to make an evaluation of the French contribution to the violoncello sonata literature of this period", confines itself to formal analysis of cello sonatas from Boismortier (1689–1755) to Bréval (1753–1823) as well as providing biographical details of the cellist-composers studied, chiefly based on Fétis and Eitner.[20] Milliot's much more encompassing study, modelled on that of La Laurencie, extends the initial work of Shaw considerably, expanding the repertoire studied to include not only sonatas, but also duos, concerti and method books.[21] Milliot also adds considerable biographical detail drawn from primary sources (chiefly documents now conserved in the Archives Nationales de France), and successfully dates many works. In this study each composer is treated separately; a biographical paragraph is followed by a work-list, and then an analysis of compositions. As both Shaw and Milliot cover the entire eighteenth century, and focus on the latter part of the period, with its more celebrated cellists and more readily available sources, the early part of the century one again receives less attention. One still has the impression that the pre-Duport cellists have

18. Lionel de La Laurencie, *L'École française de violon, de Lully à Viotti*: *Études d'histoire et d'ésthetique*, 3 vols (Paris: Delagrave, 1922–24; repr. Geneva: Minkoff, 1971).

19. G. Jean Shaw, 'The Violoncello Sonata Literature in France during the Eighteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1963), and Sylvette Milliot, 'Le Violoncelle en France au XVIIIe siècle', 2 vols. (doctoral thesis, University of Paris IV, 1975).

20. Shaw, p. v. The relevant chapters for this present study are Chapter V, 'Late Baroque Style' (pp. 59–121), which deals with sonatas by Boismoriter, Berteau, Giraud, Corrette, Martin, Barrière, Canavas, Patouart and Azaïs; and the early part of Chapter VI, 'Supplements and Summaries' (pp. 210–212), which deals with duos for two cellos. The rest of the dissertation either focuses on the later part of the century, or contains outdated and very general information on performance practice, organology, and French baroque music.

21. Milliot, *Le Violoncelle,* I, ii.

been seen as forerunners of the more glorious late eighteenth-century school, rather than as comprising a school in its own right. [22]

The work of Shaw and especially Milliot was summarized briefly in a number of more general studies approaching the matter from various angles, but there were no new studies of the French cello school until the late 1980s. [23]

Berteau is singled out as the 'representative' of the early, pre-Duport period in Adas's significant article in *Early Music* (1989). [24] She corrects earlier myths and suppositions about Berteau's career, which date back to Fétis, and more significantly, attributes convincingly to Berteau the six cello sonatas by a mysterious "Signor Martino", published in Paris in 1748, thus establishing the first, and to this date, only known cello compositions of this most celebrated of early French cellists. [25]

Despite this significant discovery, scholarly interest in Berteau and the early French cellist-composers lapsed. More recently, perhaps stimulated by a growing number of recordings and access to some of the music through facsimile editions, two master's theses, one devoted solely to Berteau, the other to several of the early French cellists (although omitting Berteau) have appeared. That by Eleanor May Lewis consists of an edition of the re-attributed Berteau sonatas, with a discussion of their cello technique, focusing on three areas: thumb position, harmonics, and double stopping. [26] There is little attempt to relate the elements found here to other cello sonatas, French or non-French, of the same period. Christopher Phillpott's thesis focuses

22. Around the same time, two other doctoral theses focused on the pre-1750 Italian cello repertoire: Ute Zingler's *Studien zur Entwicklung der italienischen Violoncellsonate von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt, 1967) and Elizabeth Cowling, *The Italian Sonata Literature for the Violoncello in the Baroque Era* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1967).

23. The findings of Shaw and Milliot are summarized briefly in William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 388–390; James Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau,* rev. edn. (London: Batsford, 1978), pp. 338–39; Elizabeth Cowling, *The Cello* (London: Batsford, 1975), pp. 93 and 107; and Robin Stowell, 'The Sonata', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cello* ed. by Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 116–136 (pp. 118–120). Articles on the French cellist-composers were also included in standard reference works such as *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVIII*e *et XVIII*e *siècles* ed. by Marcelle Benoit (Paris: Fayard, 1992) as well as *GMO* and *MGG*. Valerie Walden's doctoral thesis, 'An Investigation and Comparison of the French and Austro-German Schools of Violoncello Bowing Techniques: 1785–1839' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, 1994) was the basis for her later monograph, *One Hundred Years of Violoncello: A History of Technique and Performance Practice, 1740–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). The time frame was also pushed back, although the coverage of the French school prior to Duport provides few new details.

24. Although Berteau's sonatas can hardly be considered typical of the French cello sonatas of the pre-Duport era.

25. Adas, 368–380.

26. Eleanor May Lewis, 'Contextualising Martin Berteau: New Perspectives on his Works for Cello' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Sydney, 2003).

on a single issue, that of French and Italian style in the sonatas.[27] It is also the first study limited to the early French cellists. In that sense, Phillpott provides the most substantial contribution to the topic since Milliot's research in the late 1970s. However, his coverage is inevitably limited by the narrow focus on the issue of national style. Moreover, the the confines of a master's thesis precluded discussion of all the French cellist-composers. It was limited to a few sonatas by Boismortier (Op. 26 and 50), Corrette ('Les délices de la solitude'), Barrière (Livres I–IV), Masse (Opp. 1, 2 and 5) and Patouart (Op. 1).

As may happen, work on a dissertation can be well advanced when a new key reference tool appears in print. In this instance, Mary Cyr's *Style and Performance for Bowed Strings in French Baroque Music* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) appeared early in 2012 as the text of this dissertation was nearing completion. It has not been possible to include discussion of this new work in this dissertation. However, it has been heartening to see a new publication which includes a further examination of the French cellists prior to the Duport school.

Scholarly investigation on the French cello school prior to Duport may be summarized: in the 1960s and 70s, two in-depth studies focused on the cello in France in the long eighteenth century;[28] they included formal analysis of a significant portion of the pre-Duport repertoire, and, in the case of Milliot, have provided significant biographical details for most of the pre-Duport cellist-composers. Three more recent, shorter studies (one article and two master's theses) have addressed specific elements of the early French school: in the case of Berteau, clarifying biographical details and attributing to him a set of previously unknown (in terms of authorship) sonatas; in the case of the wider early French cello school, focusing on the use and combination of the Italian and French styles.[29] However, even recent general studies still have treated the early school as a forerunner of the Duport school, rather than as a school in its own right. For example, in a single paragraph devoted to the pre-1750 French cello sonata, Robin Stowell discusses only Boismortier, Corrette, and Barrière, before merely naming Martin and Patouart, and describing the sonatas of all these figures as "significant precursors of the virtuoso sonatas of the French 'Classical' school".[30]

27. Christopher Phillpott, 'The French Baroque Cello Sonata: Context and Style' (unpublished master's thesis, Texas Christian University, 2009).

28. That is, from the cello's origins in the late seventeenth century to around 1820.

29. In addition, snippets of information on the early French cellists has been included, since the late nineteenth century, in more general studies of the history of the cello, as well as in studies of eighteenth-century French music, and in general standard reference works.

30. Robin Stowell, 'The Sonata', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cello,* ed. by Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 116–136 (p. 19).

While important groundwork has been undertaken, much still remains to be done. This may be divided into three broad areas. First, as the effect of socio-cultural situations on musicians has been recognized more and more as highly influential, it is now important to place the development of cello technique and repertoire this in wider socio-cultural context.

Second, the concept of historical performance practices has grown exponentially since the 1960s and 70s. An initial interest in rediscovering the performance practices of "The Baroque Era" or "The Classical Era" has long given way to acceptance that in different localities, and even in different institutions or performance situations within one city, performance practices could vary enormously. In this light, it seems remarkable that there is yet to be a study of the physical construction of the cello itself and on its playing technique in particular, as relating to France, and, even more specifically, the Paris basin.

Third, although both Shaw and Milliot focused on formal analyses of the sonatas, they looked at each composer in isolation, so that observation of the common characteristics which define the whole œuvre as a school became neglected. Phillpott was the first to address this problem.[31] However, he could tackle only one aspect of the early cello sonatas, namely the use of French and Italian styles—that is, not aspects of technical performance or the issue of virtuosic writing. Furthermore, no researcher has compared the French sonatas to non-French works (chiefly by composers from Italy or the Low Countries) that also appear in the French music publishers' catalogues, and with which the French cellist composers of this era would have been familiar.[32] Essentially, studies are now required that examine the œuvre of French cello music as a whole, discovering its unique characteristics and assessing how each composer fits into this wider fabric, as well as comparing it to the wider musical picture: namely, the antecedent solo viol repertoire, the early Italian and Dutch cello repertoire, and the French and Italian violin sonata, which in a sense was the 'model' to which all other instrumental music—especially solo instrumental music—aspired in Paris in these years.

This dissertation will address these issues. Part I discusses in detail the socio-cultural context in which the cello came to prominence as a solo instrument in France. Chapter 1 investigates the wider socio-cultural environment in which the early French cellists worked. This is explored from various an-

31. Phillpott, p. 5. "The presentation of her [Milliot's] research, however, suffers with the treatment of individual composers and their music as self-contained entities, thus preventing the contextualization of the literature within the gradually changing and vital currents of public musical taste as well as aesthetic and stylistic trends in France during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries."

32. French sonatas are defined as those written by native French composers, or by foreigners whose primary residence was in France.

gles. First, the role of the cello in various arenas of musical life is investigated: the music of the court and the theatre ensembles, including the Opéra, which gave employment to many French cellists. The dissertation then explores the role of patrons and private ensembles in fostering the rise of the cello in France. Third, discussion turns to concert life, especially the *Concert Spirituel,* where the cello had a solo role beginning in 1736. Fourth, we consider the role of the Church in educating and employing cellists, and investigate beyond Paris to highlight the significant role that provincial musicians and foreigners played in the rise of the cello in France. Finally, we examine the engraving and selling of music in Paris, which had a major role in the dissemination of new solo cello music. Chapter 2 re-examines the biographies of the musicians who were most closely involved in creating the nascent French cello repertoire: the virtuoso cellists, cellist-composers, and the composers who wrote for the cello. Not only are the French cellists and composers who wrote for the cello included, but also several prominent Italians who visited Paris and/or had their cello sonatas published there. All of this is placed within the wider socio-cultural context which is established in Chapter 1.

Part II focuses on the instrument itself and on the cello repertoire composed in France prior to 1760. Chapter 3 presents the varieties of cello-type instruments and their basic playing techniques as specific to France and in particular the Paris region at this time. It begins by clarifying term *violoncelle* in the early eighteenth-century French context. This is followed by a brief discussion of the French *Vieux Paris* school of lutherie, and connections between specific luthiers and cellists. After this, related instruments with which French cellists would have been familiar are explored: these are the *basse de violon,* the five-string *basse de violon,* and the five-string cello. As background to Chapter 4, we explore basic elements of French cello technique at this time: fingering patterns; various bow holds, and the holding of the instrument.

In Chapter 4, the further discussion of the use of these techniques focuses on the development of the solo cello idiom in France up till 1760. The chapter also explores how the French cellist-composers borrowed or adapted from existing idioms, the French viol suite, the Italian violin sonata, and the Italian cello sonata, and the means by which and the extent to which they were successful in gallicizing the Italian sonata. A related issue is the way the French adapted what was originally a bass, or tenor-bass, instrument for the solo sonata, with its characteristic reliance on the polarity between treble and bass. A further discussion explores the French attempts to gallicize the cello sonata in terms of texture, the use of different ranges and tessituras, use of double stopping and chords, of advanced bow strokes, and of the extreme upper registers.

In all of these areas, the French contribution is unique. While it provided a firm basis for the well-acknowledged late eighteenth-century French cello school of the Duports, the dissertation argues the contribution of the French cello-composers of the first half of the century as sufficient to claim that a hitherto under-estimated if not unrecognized, school of cello playing and writing already existed in France by the mid-century, distinctive in its own right and achievement and neither inferior to nor merely a precursor of the late eighteenth-century school.

Part I

The Cellist-Composers, their Patrons, and their Audiences

Chapter 1

France: Cultural, Social, and Institutional Background

1.1 Music of the Court

The Court held a pre-eminent place in French musical life for much of the reign (1643–1715) of Louis XIV. The court music was divided into three administrative divisions: the *Musique de la Chapelle, Musique de la Chambre,* and *Musique de l'Écurie*. The cello had no large role in the court ensembles, which favoured the viola da gamba for delicate chamber music and the *basse de violon* as the bass voice in the *Vingt-quatre violons du Roi* and similar string bands. A shift in both power and musical style occurred towards the end of Louis XIV's reign, throughout the Regency (1715–1723) and into the reign (1723–1774) of Louis XV. Versailles lost its preeminence compared to Paris-based theatres—not only the Opéra, but also the Comédie française, Comédie italienne and the Fair Theatres, as well as to private ensembles such as those of La Pouplinière and the Duke of Orléans. At the same time, these ensembles deliberately cultivated the Italianate style in music, hitherto considered foreign—and therefore undesirable—at the French court. While the debate over the merits of each style preoccupied French writers on music for much of the eighteenth century, in terms of the cello this shift in influence meant that as an outsider to the court, it was able to find its way into the centre of French musical life.

The court, in spite of its reluctance to accept the cello, still had a significant influence on the nurturing of future cellists. It seems, for instance, that some early French cellists began their careers as players of the *basse de violon,* an instrument similar to the cello, although larger and tuned a tone lower, as members of the *Vingt-quatre violons du Roi.* [1]

1. The *basse de violon* is discussed more fully in Chapter 3.

There is little archival information on the membership of the *Vingt-quatre violons du Roi.* Among the major French cellist-composers of this time, we know Jean-Baptiste Masse to have been a member, on the evidence of the title pages of his Opp. 1–5 sonatas and duos. Given the ensemble's prestige especially at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is possible that other leading cellists of the early generation were involved at some point in their careers. Interestingly, the ensemble indirectly brought the cello into France. A *basse de violon,* now converted into a cello known as the 'King', was part of a set of instruments made by Andrea Amati in 1572 for Charles IX.[2] The origins of the ensemble can be traced back as far as 1529, when the *Écurie du roi* included "six joueurs français du violon, hautbois et saqueboutte".[3] By 1571 violinists were no longer listed among the musicians of the *Écurie*; Bardet conjectures that by this time they had already been transferred to the *Musique de la Chambre*. They were definitely part of the *Musique de la Chambre* by 1577, which is the date of the earliest reference to a *Violon ordinaire de la Chambre*. The group increased in number over the following decades: from 22 in 1609 to 23 in 1610; by 1614 there were 24, a number which remained stable until the group was disbanded in 1761. As was typical of violin-family instruments in the seventeenth century, their function was mainly to play for dances. By 1620, the *Violons de la Chambre,* as they were then known, were also part of the band of *violons et joueurs d'instruments de l'Hôtel de Ville de Paris*. The *Vingt-quatre violons* continued until 1761, when they were disbanded, although during the reign of Louis XV they had already lost the importance they had enjoyed in earlier times.

Until the early decades of the eighteenth century, the *Vingt-quatre* played as a five-part ensemble. The bass part was played by the *basse de violon*; the highest voice was played by the *dessus de violon* (essentially a standard violin, and tuned in the same way), while the three middle voices were all played by instruments tuned like the modern viola, but in three different sizes (*haute-contre, taille,* and *quinte*). Six musicians each were used for the *dessus* and bass parts, and four players for each of the inner parts. Sometime between 1712 and 1718, the *quinte* was suppressed, and the ensemble transferred to the newer, more Italianate, four-part layout. Perhaps in tandem with this change the cello replaced the *basse de violon* in the ensemble.[4] However, it was unlikely to have added anything other than a more 'modern' image to

2. John Dilworth, 'The Cello: Origins and Evolution' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cello* ed. by Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 1–27 (p. 15).

3. Bernard Bardet, 'Violons, Vingt-quatre' in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVII*e *et XVIII*e *siècles* ed. by Marcelle Benoit (Paris: Fayard, 1992), p. 724. The information in this paragraph is from Bardet.

4. Bardet, p. 726, states without citing any source that the *basse de violon* was replaced by the cello around 1710.

the ensemble because the intrinsic qualities of the cello's sound (as compared to that of the *basse de violon*) would not have been advantageous—the larger, albeit more clumsy *basse de violon* providing a deeper, stronger, more sonorous bass to the ensemble than its replacement. The cello's agility, its principal advantage over the weightier *basse de violon,* would not have been utilized in dance music played by the *Vingt-quatre violons.*

Another court string band was Louis XIV's personal ensemble, known as the *Petits Violons*; the group was formed around 1648, when the future king was ten years old.[5] Like the *Vingt-quatre violons,* the *Petits Violons* were essentially a ceremonial ensemble. They also joined with the *Vingt-quatre violons,* forming a large orchestra. The group comprised around 10 players initially, a figure which had risen to 21 by 1665. Stylistically the playing of the *Petits Violons* was evidently more Italianate than that of the *Vingt-quatre violons*, since they were supported by Lully's critics, who were pro-Italian and opposed the 'traditional' style of the *Vingt-quatre*. The *Petits Violons* were disbanded in 1715. At this point, fourteen of its members became *Symphonistes* of the *Musique de la Chambre*. The other seven received a veteran's pension. Although the cello was never used in this ensemble, it is plausible to suggest that some of the *basse de violon* players went on to careers as cellists in other ensembles, or taught the following generation of cellists.

1.2 Theatre Ensembles

The cello had significant presence in the Parisian theatres. These include the Opéra, the two official spoken theatres, and various ad-hoc groups.

The Opéra (officially the Académie Royale de Musique), founded in 1672 was to become a significant employer of cellists, including those originally from the French provinces or from Italy. Table 1.1 names the *basse* players in the Opéra orchestra before 1760. Both prominent and lesser-known cellists can be found. The former include Jean Barrière, François Martin, Jean-Baptiste Stück, and François Giraud. The Opéra orchestra itself was divided into two groups: the *petit chœur* and the *grand chœur.* The *petit chœur* consisted primarily of continuo instruments: keyboard, theorbo, viola da gamba and *basse de violon,* along with (sometimes) violin and flute soloists.[6] Two *basses de violon* were included in the *petit chœur* until the mid-1720s. After that, the number increased to three, around the same time that violas da gamba were omitted. According to La Gorce, the *basses de violon* had been gradually replaced by cellos by 1754, the number remaining at three into the 1760s. The

5. Bardet, 'Violons, Petits' in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France,* ed. by Benoit, p. 724. Bardet is my principal source for this paragraph.

6. Jérôme de la Gorce, 'l'Orchestre de l'Opéra et son évolution de Campra à Rameau', *Revue de musicologie,* 76 (1990), 23–43 (pp. 24–29).

nucleus of the *grand chœur* was a five-part string section *(dessus, haute-contre, taille, quinte,* and *basse de violon),* supplemented by woodwind instruments (flutes, oboes, bassoons). Trumpet and horn parts were played initially by string players. The *grand chœur* consistently included eight basses between 1704 and 1764. The *grand chœur* played during the overture, choruses, dances, the *recitativo accompagnato, symphonies descriptives* and some preludes. The *petit chœur,* on the other hand, accompanied the *secco* recitatives.

Table 1.1 – Basse players in the Opéra orchestra to 1764. Table based on La Gorce, 'L'Orchestre de l'Opéra', pp. 39–43.

Basse players in the *grand chœur*	**Dates**
Théobalde, Jean Theobaldo de Gatti dit	1676–1726
Le Clerc, Augustin	1697–1736
Monteclair, Michel Pignolet de	1699-1737 (also double bass)
Beins ou Bince, Théodore	1700–1726
Paris père, Claude	1700–35
Desmatins, Claude	1702–04
Gillet, Joseph	1702–15
Campra, Joseph	1702–1719
François	1704
Le Cointre, Claude-Charles	1704–1719
Francœur, Joseph	1705–1738
Converset, Noël	1713–1726
Le Prince	1717–1719
Le Large	1720–1738
Habram	1727–30
Dubuisson	1729–1730
Stück, Jean-Baptiste	1730
Barrière, Jean	1731–37
L'abbé *le cadet*	1730–42
Capperan or Capram, Gabriel	1736–1756
Chartier	1738
Antheaume	1738–57
Forcade	1738–64
Saublai ou Saublay	1739–after 1764
Dun *l'aîné*	1741–52
Dun *le cadet*	1741–59
Martin, François	1746–48
Salentin or Sallantin *l'aîné,* François-Alexandre	1749–after 1764
Davesne	1750–after 1746

Giraud, François-Joseph	1752–after 1764
Simon	1757–1762
Le Breton	1758–59
Artigue ou Artique	1759–63
Le Miere	1759–after 1764
Desplanques	1764 and after
Nochez	1764 and after
Basse players in the *petit chœur*	**Dates**
Baudy, E.	1710–1746
L'abbé *l'aîné*	1729–after 1764
Habram	1742–57
L'abbé *le cadet*	1750–64
Antheaume	1758–1764

Neither Barrière, Martin, nor Giraud was ever a member of the *petit chœur,* instead remaining in the *grand chœur* throughout their careers. On the other hand, some of the basse players of the *petit chœur* such as E. Baudy and Habra, are unknown to us today.

It is clear that a majority of the cellists significant to our study were involved with the Opéra at some point during their careers. Yet it seems unlikely that the Opéra took the initiative of bringing the cello into France, since the instrument only began to be used there from the 1730s if Corrette is to be believed. By that time the first set of French cello sonatas (Boismortier's Op. 26) had already been published, and a number of chamber works which included an independent part for the cello had appeared. However, the Opéra's use of the cello probably did much to raise its profile from the 1730s onwards. The two L'abbé brothers, for example, were associated with the Opéra for a large part of their careers, but not immediately upon their arrival in Paris. L'abbé *l'aîné* had arrived in Paris in 1722, but did not play at the Opéra until 1730; that he wrote music for the Fair Theatres before then makes it likely that he was also engaged as a cellist.[7] L'abbé *le cadet* joined the Opéra three years before his older brother, in 1727. Fétis notes that Stück (who also joined the Opéra in 1730) and L'abbé *l'aîné* were the first to play the cello at the Opéra.[8] La Gorce has found both names on a continuo part for François Rebel's *Pastorale héroïque.* This he dates to 1730, and speculates that if Fétis is correct, this could have been the occasion when the two musicians played the cello at the Opéra for the first time.

7. Neal Zaslaw. 'L'abbé', in *GMO* [accessed 12 January 2011]
8. Cited in La Gorce, 'L'Orchestre de l'Opéra', p. 27, n. 8.

Although several prominent cellists were involved with the Opéra at various points in their careers, the absence of others is noteworthy. Of these, the most remarkable is Martin Berteau, who seems to have forged a successful career independent of the Opéra. [9] Another significant cellist-composer who does not appear in the Opéra's payrolls is François Martin, a member of the *Vingt-quatre violons* and also the Comédie Française.

*

The Comédie Française was primarily a theatre for spoken drama. Like the Opéra, it was subsidized by the King; its members held the title of *comédiens ordinaires du roi.* [10] Just as the Académie Royale de Musique had a monopoly on sung drama, the Comédie Française had a monopoly on spoken theatre in the French language. It was not permitted an orchestra, or to use more than two singers. [11] In practice the Comédie Française often exceeded its official limit of six instrumentalists. It even employed one leading cellist-composer, Jean-Baptiste Masse. By 1717, the orchestra numbered ten musicians; by 1762 it had 15, and by 1786, 28. Through this period, the number of cellos/*basses de violon* grew slightly: in 1717 and 1725 there were two *basses de violon;* [12] in 1752 there were two "cellos and basses", in 1762 two cellos, in 1773 three "cellos and basses", and in 1786, four cellos and one double bass. [13]

The Comédie Italienne, known also as the *Italiens,* was also an official theatre, this one holding a monopoly on spoken drama in Italian, similar to that held by the Comédie Française for French. It was also prohibited from using an orchestra, although it too often defied Lully's 1672 royal *privilège.* [14] Following the death of the Regent in 1723, its members, like those of the Comédie Française, were granted the title of *comédiens ordinaires du roi.* The precise membership of this orchestra is unknown, but we have indications of the number of cellists employed in particular years. Spitzer and Zaslaw list three "basses" in 1733, one cello in 1751, and two cellos in 1754. [15]

9. The question of where Berteau played is one that has already vexed researchers. The question may never be solved completely. See Adas, p. 370.

10. Rebecca Harris-Warrick, et al. 'Paris', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera,* ed. by Stanley Sadie. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O005519> [accessed 14 January 2011]

11. John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 191.

12. Émile Campardon, *Les Comédiens du Roi de la troupe française pendant les deux derniers siècles* (Paris: Champion, 1879; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), pp. 283 and 288.

13. Spitzer and Zaslaw, p. 193.

14. Spitzer and Zaslaw, p. 191.

15. Descriptions of orchestra membership often list only 'violons' and 'basses'; the viola (*haute-contre, taille* or *quinte de violon*) was conceptually still seen as a 'violin', whereas a cello (or *basse de violon,* or even double bass) was visually different, being held vertically and with its much larger size.

Unlike the *Vingt-quatre violons* and the orchestra of the Opéra, with their traditional French five-part strings, the de facto orchestras of the Comédie française and the Comédie italienne used the new four-part Italianate scoring, with first and second violins, a single viola part, and a bass part, no doubt furthering the trend for Italianate scoring in French music.

In addition to these three official theatres, several other theatres in Paris operated without any royal *privilège*. These were known collectively as the Fair Theatres, or *Théâtre de la Foire*. [16] The two most significant were associated with the Foire St. Germain, which took place for two months in the spring and the Foire St. Laurent, which ran from July to September. [17] These fairs offered a variety of attractions, including stalls selling food, drink, and merchandise, and entertainments that ranged from buskers to troupes who "set up temporary theatres for the duration of each season." [18] These Fair Theatres employed musicians "to accompany dancing and for *entr'actes*". [19] Such bands sometimes exceeded the six musicians allowed by the Opéra's *privilège*; we know that both the Opéra and the Comédie française vigorously attempted to enforce their *privilèges.*

There was also one private theatre which employed an orchestra. The Opéra-Comique, unlike the Comédie Française, Comédie Italienne and the Fair Theatres, had permission to employ an orchestra in return for a yearly sum paid to the Opéra. Initiated by a group of promoters in 1724, The Opéra-Comique was housed in a permanent theatre at the Foire St-Germain. Its orchestra was considered better than those of either of the Comédies, both for the quality of its musicians and "the superior acoustics of its theater". [20] In 1762, the Opéra-Comique merged with the Comédie Italienne, after which the number of cellos in the combined orchestra increased slightly: there are "2 cellos and basses"in 1762, three cellos and two double basses in both 1769 and 1772, and five cellos and two double basses in 1787.

There is little archival information pertaining to the individual membership of the orchestras of either the Fair Theatres or the Opéra-Comique. We do know that the two L'abbé brothers were associated with the Fair Theatres on their arrival in Paris. If, as Ancelet claims, the musicians were of a higher standard than those at the two spoken theatres (whose cellists included Jean-Baptiste Masse), it is highly likely that some of the virtuoso cellists, particularly those who did not play at the Opéra, performed at the Opéra-

16. For further information on the Fair theatres, see James R. Anthony, 'Théâtres de la Foire', in *GMO* [accessed 15 January 2011] and Jama Stilwell, 'A New View of the Eighteenth-Century "Abduction" Opera: Edification and Escape at the Parisian "Théâtres De La Foire"', *Music and Letters*, 91 (2010), 51–82.

17. Spitzer and Zaslaw, p. 195.

18. ibid.

19. ibid.

20. Ancelet, *Observations sur la musique*, p. 11, cited in Spitzer and Zaslaw, p. 197

Comique. If cello solos were ever performed at the Opéra-Comique, possibly in the context of entertainment between the acts, then one can suppose such works would have required (and encouraged) an extroverted virtuosity rather than intimate, subtle nuanced playing. Effects, such as a passage in the first movement of François Martin's Sonata IV that requires the cellist to stop the strings with the chin, would fall into this category. In the noisy, even rowdy atmosphere of the Fair Theatres, increased volume would also have been a chief concern, and this must have influenced the development of cello technique, and of the instrument itself.

As can be seen by the examples of the Comédie française, the Comédie italienne, and the Fair Theatres, a substantial amount of the orchestral activity in Paris happened in an unofficial manner, but left very little trace, in regard to documentary evidence. However, it was this unofficial activity, as much as that of the Opéra, that seems to have contributed to the development of French musical style and indeed the emergent cello repertoire. As Spitzer and Zaslaw note, "unmentioned in official reports, a whole world of orchestras and orchestra musicians had come into being in Paris, to be revealed at last in the new, anti-monopolistic atmosphere of the Revolution." [21]

1.3 Patronage

In addition to this multifaceted world of public orchestras, a number of wealthy individuals maintained their own private ensembles. These were a short-lived phenomenon. They appeared in Paris only after the Regency and survived until the 1770s, after which concert societies replaced individuals in patronizing orchestras. [22] Nevertheless, these private orchestras were as significant, socially as well as musically, as the official music of the King. They are particularly important in that their existence coincides with the early French solo cello repertoire. Possibly those cellists or cellist-composers not employed at the Court or the theatres may have gained employment in these private bands. Likely candidates among the prominent cellist-composers are Berteau and Patouart, neither of whom were employed at the Opéra.

The largest private orchestra in Paris was that of the tax-farmer, Alexandre Jean-Joseph Le Riche de La Pouplinière. This orchestra, founded in 1731, was directed by Jean-Philippe Rameau until 1748; it was relaunched in 1751 with Gossec as director, and Johann Stamitz as guest director in 1754. It served as an ideal conduit for musicians and musical ideas from outside the French establishment. Its musicians "tended to be outsiders and newcomers, ambitious young instrumentalists from the provinces, or virtuosos from Italy

21. Spitzer and Zaslaw, p. 197.
22. Spitzer and Zaslaw, p. 203.

or Germany", rather than being drawn from the Court, the Opéra, or the Paris theatres.[23] Therefore, it seems not unreasonable to suggest that Berteau, originally from Valenciennes and not known to have played at the Opéra, or at the *Concert Spirituel*, may have been in the employ of La Pouplinière. There were 15 instrumentalists in total in the orchestra in 1762; among them was the cellist Gaziani [sic], presumably Carlo Graziani.[24] Additional soloists and musicians were engaged "on a per-concert basis", possibility including cellists.[25]

Following La Pouplinière's death in 1762, many of the musicians were absorbed into the Prince de Conti's orchestra. This had been founded in 1757 and falls outside our period, although it is worth noting that it went on to employ several late eighteenth-century cello virtousi: Jean-Baptiste Janson, Jacques [sic] Duport and Joseph Fillière [Tillière?].[26] The orchestra was dissolved in 1771.[27]

*

Orchestras may have provided employment for cellists, but the salons provided a more significant outlet for small-scale instrumental forms such as the solo sonata. The relatively quiet voice of the cello, and the thin instrumentation of solo sonatas (one solo line with continuo) more suited these intimate soirées than concert performances in large halls. The private nature of these gatherings rules out any detailed knowledge of concert programmes or any associations with particular cellists.[28] Largely "leisure venues where

23. Spitzer and Zaslaw, p. 202.

24. Georges Cucuel, *La Pouplinière et la musique de chambre au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Fischenbacher, 1913), p. 339.

25. Spitzer and Zaslaw, p. 202.

26. R. J. Viano, 'Conti, Louis François de Bourbon, prince de', in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France* ed. by Benoit, pp. 177–78.

27. See also Herbert C. Turrentine, 'The Prince de Conti: A Royal Patron of Music,' *Musical Quarterly,* 54 (1968), 309–315.

28. R. J. Viano, 'Salons' in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France,* ed. by Benoit, pp. 631–33, (p. 631), notes that the the salons are at once the most influential, and the least studied, musical environment of the *Ancien Régime.* In reality private meetings, sustained by the cultural elite, they remained intimate gatherings to which no reference was made in the press of the day and the journals, which were the arbiters of the orientations, fashions and tastes of Parisian society. "Les lieux musicaux les plus influents, et les moins étudiés de l'Ancien Régime, furent sans doute les salons. De telles réunions privées, soutenues par l'élite culturelle de la société, restaient des assemblées intimes auxquelles la presse contemporaine et les journaux, qui dictaient les orientations, les modes et le goût de la société parisienne, ne faisaient aucune référence."

literature played an important role", [29] the salons included music in addition to activities such as eating, gambling, and theatrical performances. [30]

In addition to these salons, there were salons which were focused primarily on music. La Pouplinière, La Haye, the Prince de Conti, and the Baron d'Ogny all maintained ensembles in their private salons, [31] most of which would have employed cellists. Some salons specialized entirely in chamber music. In addition, there were salons for musicians themselves to congregate: examples are those of M^{me} de Genlis, of de Rocchechouart, and of the Baron de Bagge. [32]

Viano notes that many soloists and composers displayed their talent in the salons before appearing in public, as the salons were the testing ground that could guarantee the success of every musician in Paris. [33] The salons, therefore, served as a 'barometer' for new music, and a career path for professional musicians. [34] Grétry comments that "Lorsqu'une pièce était agréé par les premiers gentilshommes de la Chambre ... elle avait le droit de passer incontinent à Paris." [35] The salons must have acted as a launching place for cellists and it can be imagined that the sheer novelty of the instrument would have been an attraction, particularly to the Italophile patrons.

Salons were surely an important forum for amateur performance of cello sonatas and were in fact the only place where noble amateurs could perform. [36] The increased interest in the cello by amateurs might be seen as one of the key reasons for the growth of its solo repertoire, much of which seems conceived specifically for amateur consumption.

For these reasons, it is almost certain that the instrument succeeded as a solo instrument in the salons before reaching any prominence on the public stage. Its eventual success was undoubtedly due to the ability of the performers in the salons to play the instrument, the desire of audiences to hear it, and the determination of wealthy patrons to endorse it. If the cello began to replace the viola da gamba in the salons as well as at the Opéra, as the evidence of published music suggests, this must have been due to a range of factors rather than simply a fancy for a larger sound than the viol.

29. Antoine Lilti, 'The Kingdom of Politesse: Salons and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century Paris', *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 1 (2009), para. 9 <http://rofl.stanford.edu/node/38> [accessed 31 July 2012]

30. ibid.

31. R. J. Viano, 'salon', in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France*, ed. by Benoit, p. 631–33 (p. 633). The repertoire ranged widely, from extended vocal pieces to symphonies to chamber music.

32. ibid.

33. ibid.

34. ibid.

35. "When a piece was accepted by the leading gentlemen of the Chamber, it then had the 'right' to be played in Paris without restraint". Gétry, cited in Viano, p. 633.

36. Viano, p. 633.

1.4 Concert Life

Only one public concert series, the *Concert Spirituel* operated in Paris during the first half of the eighteenth century. Inaugurated in 1725 at the *Salle des Cent Suisses* in the Tuileries palace, it provided a means for the public to have entertainment on certain religious holidays when opera and spoken theater were forbidden by law. For this reason, its repertoire initially consisted of Latin motets and instrumental music: the same types of music that could be heard in church, but now placed in a secular context.[37] The orchestra of the *Concert Spirituel* was almost as large as that of the Opéra; in fact, the personnel largely overlapped, with the *Concert Spirituel* employing musicians from the closed theatres.[38] Despite the inclusion of Latin motets, more and more emphasis was placed on instrumental music until the Concert Spirituel became one of the most influential venues for performance and reception of concerted orchestral music.

Typical programmes in the earliest years of the *Concert Spirituel* included motets for large choir, symphonies, and pieces or suites for violin or flute, the latter played by Michel Blavet.[39] Audiences would have to wait until May 1736 to hear a solo cello, when the Italian virtuoso Salvatore Lanzetti, who was in Paris, possibly only briefly from around 1736 before travelling to London, performed unidentified *pièces pour le violoncelle* (probably sonatas) at three concerts. After Lanzetti, all cello performances were of sonatas, excepting a concerto performed by a certain Martini in 1749, and two concerto performances by Carlo Ferrari in 1756. The identity of this 'Martini' remains unsolved, apart from the possibility it may refer to Berteau, who published his six cello sonatas in 1748 under the name 'Martino'. If this were the case, it would explain why writers from Fétis onwards have referred to a 'spectacular début' by Berteau at the *Concert Spirituel* (albeit a decade earlier, in 1739), although Berteau's name never appears in the published programmes.[40] After Ferrari's concerto performance in 1756, a cello concerto does not seem to have been heard again until Jean-Pierre Duport played one in 1763. Cello solos in general were relatively sparse; an average of less than one was played each year, according to documentary evidence, until a Monsieur Baptiste played twice in 1753. Not until Jean-Pierre Duport appeared in the 1760s did cello performances become markedly more frequent.

Table 1.2 details all the documented solo cello performances at the *Concert Spirituel* between 1725 and 1760, by which time a new generation of cellists,

37. The original ban on music with a French text and on operatic excerpts was relaxed in 1727.

38. Spitzer and Zaslaw, p. 198.

39. Constant Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*: 1725–1790 (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 1975), p. 89 .

40. See Adas, p. 369.

led by Jean-Pierre Duport and Jean-Baptiste Janson, had arrived (J.-P. Duport performed at the *Concert Spirituel* for the first time on 2 February 1761; after that, none of the early generation of cellists performed at the *Concert Spirituel* again). The table is based on information from Constant Pierre's *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*. His principal source for the period is the newspaper *Mercure de France* (which notified concerts after they had taken place), supplemented in the second half of the century by the *Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, and the *Avant-coureur des spectacles*, both of which announced concerts in advance. There are contradictions in details of concerts between the sources and documentation, especially of concerts held during Lent. Nevertheless, despite these vagaries, the information available probably is representative of the performers who appeared and the works played.

Table 1.2 – Cello Performances at the Concert Spirituel, 1725–1760

Year	Date	Details	Comments	Source
1736	10 May (Ascension)	Pièces for cello composed and performed by Lanzetti		*Mercure,* May, p. 1015.
	20 May (Pentecost)	Pièces for cello composed and performed by Lanzetti		*Mercure,* May, p. 1015.
	31 May (Corpus Christi)	Pièces for cello composed and performed by Lanzetti		*Mercure,* May, p. 1015.
1738	15 August (Assumption)	Cello sonata composed and performed by Barrière	First performance by a French cellist. Other soloists Mlle Fel (vocalist) and Guignon (violin).	*Mercure,* August, p. 1863.
	8 September (Birthday of the BVM)	Cello sonata composed and performed by Barrière	Other soloist Mlle Bourbonnois (vocalist).	*Mercure,* September, p. 2079.
1744	29 March and "different days from the first to the 12 April"	Symphonic pieces; oboe played by Selle and cello by Chrétien (presumably played in the course of several concerts).		*Mercure,* April, p. 837.

Year	Date	Details	Comments	Source
1745	25 April (first of two concerts)	Cello sonata played by Massart.	Other soloists Mlle Fel, Guignon and Mondonville (violin)	*Mercure,* April, p. 139.
1747	3 April	Cello sonata composed and performed by Martin.	Martin's cantata *Laetatus sum* also performed.	Mercure, April, p. 106.
1749	25 May (Pentecost)	Concerto played by Martini	Other soloists Goepffert (harp) and Pagin (violin concerto).	*Mercure,* June II, p. 178.
1750	5 April	Sonata in trio by Bertault [Berteau] played by Gaviniés, Edouard and Capele.	Gaviniés also played a violin solo in this concert.	*Mercure,* May, p. 187.
1753	21 June (Corpus Christi)	Sonata for cello by Lanzetti, performed by Baptiste.	Other soloists Canavas (violin) and singers.	*Annonces,* 21 June, p. 383; *Mercure,* July, p. 198.
	8 September (Birthday of the BVM)	Sonata for cello by Berteau, performed by Baptiste.	Canavas violin soloist.	*Annonces,* 6 September, p. 558; *Mercure,* October, p. 182.
1755	25 March (Assumption)	Sonata for cello played by [J B] Jannson [sic].	Organ concerto by Balbastre.	*Mercure,* May, p. 180.
	29 March	Sonata for cello played by [J B] Janson.	Organ concerto by Balbalstre.	*Annonces,* 27 March, p. 199; not announced in the *Mercure.*
1756	16 April	Sonata for cello composed and played by Carlo Ferrari.		*Mercure,* May, p. 239.
	20 April	Sonata for cello composed and played by Carlo Ferrari.		*Mercure,* May, p. 239.

While the *Concert Spirituel* undoubtedly helped to raise the profile of the cello as a serious solo instrument, none of the early cellists can be considered a regular soloist at the *Concert Spirituel* in the same way as other instrumentalists, including the violinists Gaviniés, Guignon, L'Abbé *le fils*, the flautist Michel Blavet, singers like Marie Fel, and indeed, the Duport brothers

after 1760. Apart from Lanzetti, no cellist performed more than twice before 1760. Although a single performance in an arena as public as the *Concert Spirituel* may have helped to generate publicity for published compositions, it was hardly sufficient to sustain a reputation as a performer. Moreover, a striking number of cello virtuosi never performed at the *Concert Spirituel*. Among them are Berteau, L'abbé *l'aîné,* Masse, Martin, Giraud, and Patouart.

1.5 The Church and the French Provinces

Just as the cello came into prominence in the capital through outsider routes—the Fair Theatres, the patronage of private individuals, a new printing method—so, in a broader sense did it find its way into Parisian musical life via the provinces. Although long considered a 'backwater' of French musical life, a considerable number of the cellists prominent in Paris before 1760 were born and educated in the provinces.[41] Among them are Barrière (Bordeaux), Berteau (Valenciennes), L'abbé *l'aîné* and L'abbé *le cadet* (both Agen in Antiquaine). In addition, several other non-cellist composers for the cello were from the provinces, including Boismortier (Thionville; later Metz, then Perpignan), Baur (Housonville in Moselle), and Chédeville (Sérez). Many other French cellists sought employment in the provinces in addition to furthering their careers in Paris, including Giraud (Bordeaux, also Laon in Picardy) and Berteau (Lunéville in Bar et Lorraine, later Angers).

Secular patronage of the cello in the provinces is scarcely known, other than the example of Stanislas Lesczcynski, the former King of Poland who was Duke of Lorraine and Bar, and established a court at Lunéville. It is probable that Berteau was employed here, as his *acte de décès* describes him as "cy-devant de la musique du feu Roy de Pologne Stanislas" (see Chapter 2). Another composer of cello sonatas employed by Stanislas was Jean-Noël Massart, who is described on the title page of his Livre I cello sonatas (c. 1745) as *Ordinaire de la Musique de sa Majesté, Stanislas Roy de Pologne, duc de Lorraine et de Bar.*[42]

A key theme in the careers of all these provincial cellists is the church. Those cellists who were raised in the provinces, even if they went on to careers in Paris, were likely to have been educated by the church *maîtrises*, which were the principal source of music instruction outside Paris. The *maîtrise* was the educational wing of a cathedral, *collégiale,* or parish, which existed to provide music for liturgical life. Each *maîtrise* trained between

41. The most thorough study of musical life in the French provinces in this period is Sylvie Granger, *Musiciens dans la ville (1600-1850)* (Paris: Belin, 2002).

42. Jean-Noël Massart, *Sonates pour le violoncelle avec la basse continüe . . . Livre I* (Paris: Le Graveur, V^ve^ Boivin, Leclerc, [c.1745]), title page. Presumably it was because he was not based in Paris that they were sold from the residence of the engraver, Dun, rather than the composer.

six and 12 boys at any one time. The teachers were lodged in the *maîtrise.* They taught not only music, but also Latin and grammar. The boys, chosen by competition, remained in the *maîtrise* for several years, learning music and participating in the full liturgical life of the institution, until their voices broke. They were taught not only singing, but also instruments that were commonly used in church. Lescat lists these as being the organ, keyboard, viol, theorbo and serpent.[43] It is likely that the cello and its predecessor the basse de violon was among these instruments, at least in some *maîtrises.* It is also likely that some instruction in theory was given.

Barrière, for example, spent the early part of his life in Bordeaux, and it seems very likely he was taught in either the *maîtrise* at the cathedral of St. André or that at the church of St. Seurin. The *maîtrises* were the only institution offering instruction in music in the area. He was not the only Bordelais to seek a high-profile musical career in the capital; the singer Marie Fel also spent her early years in Bordeaux. In the mid-century, the cellist François Giraud was employed as *Maître de musique* at Laon and at Bordeaux at the church at St. Seurin.[44] Michel Louis Moulinghem, organist at the cathedral of Coutances in Manche, Normandy, was also a cellist. Although he did not publish any cello sonatas, an inventory of his possessions made after his death in 1769 reveals that his library included 37 publications for cello, including one of the Livres by Barrière, the *Délices de la solitude* by Corrette, Opp. 1 and 2 by Patouart, the sonatas by Giraud, as well as works by Louis Janson, Jean-Baptiste Nochez, Jean-Pierre Duport, Joseph Rey and sonatas by the Italians Vivaldi, Cervetto, Cirri, Lanzetti, Ferrari, Galeotti, Canavas, and Sammartini, also Triemer, Fesch and Klein.[45] Other cellists sought or accepted more casual employment within provincial churches. Towards the end of his career, Berteau was employed in the cathedral at Angers.[46] In these circumstances, it is likely that the solo cello was heard in

43. Philippe Lescat, 'maîtrise' in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France,* ed. by Benoit, pp. 431–32.

44. For more on the careers of provincial *maîtres de musique* in the eighteenth century, see John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 446–551.

45. Jean-François Détrée, 'Un répertoire pervers: L'Inventaire des partitions d'un organiste coutançais du XVIII^{e} siècle', in *Nédélèqueries: Recueil d'articles offerts à Yves Nédélec, archiviste départemental de la Manche de 1954 à 1994* (Saint-Lô: Société d'archéologie et d'histoire de la Manche, 1994), pp. 141–149 (pp. 142–147).

46. Angers, Archives Départementales de Maine-et-Loire, G 271, records a payment on 20 September 1769, "aux musiciens qui ont joué des instruments les veille et jour de la feste de St Maurice, scavoir à chacun des sieurs Joubert, Fiorès, Dupré, Finelli et Gillet, 10 livres, au Sr Bretault [Berteau] 24 livres et au sieur Favre 6 livres" ("to the musicians who played instruments on the eve and day of the feast of St. Maurice, giving to Joubert, Fiorès, Dupré, Finelli and Gillet 10 livres each, to Mr. Bretault [Berteau] 24 livres, and to Mr. Favre 6 livres") and a payment on 18 April 1770 of "6 livres payées à chacun des Sr Bretault [Berteau], Joubert et Bourgeois musiciens symphonistes pour avoir joué du Violon les veille et jour de Pâques

the church. Solo string music was a common part of the liturgy in Italy at this time, with *sonate da chiesa* being used as an instrumental substitute for the sung propers of the Mass, especially the Gradual, Communion, and Deo Gratias.[47] Instrumental music, at least for organ, was also used in the French liturgy, and its style became more secular in the course of the century.[48] Not least because the violin sonata specifically was a strong influence on the development of French organ music, the musical style of the French cello sonatas was most likely seen as acceptable in a liturgical context.[49]

Maîtrises were also in existence in Paris. They played a key role in Parisian music education where the only other option was private individual instruction.[50] *Basses de violon* and cellos were definitely used in at least some Parisian churches, even though violin-family instruments were accepted into Parisian churches later than in the provinces. It is known that string players were part of the Chapelle Royale before 1715, as some were members of the *Petits Violons*.[51] Archival records show that the Sainte-Chapelle du Palais was employing *basse de violon* players as early as the 1720s: A payment of 37 l.

aux Vespres, grand messe et salut" ("6 livres each paid to Bretault, Joubert at Bourgeois, orchestral musicians, for having played the violin on the eve and day of Easter at Vespers, High Mass and Benediction"). I am grateful to Sylvie Granger for providing this information.

47. See Stephen Bonta, 'Uses of the Sonata da Chiesa', *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 22, (1969), 54–84; Anne Schnoebelen, 'The Role of the Violin in the Resurgence of the Mass in the 17th Century', *Early Music,* 18, (1990), 537–542.

48. Anthony, p. 335, has noted that "the strong connection between dance rhythms and much of the organ music of the late seventeenth century is acknowledged by André Raison (died 1719) in his Livre d'orgue of 1688." To aid the organist play the music, Raison notes that "It is necessary to observe the Meter of the piece that you are to play and to consider whether it has some rapport with a Sarabande, Gigue, Gavotte, Bourrée, Canarie, Pasacaille, Chaconne, or the tempo of the Blacksmith dance. You must give it the same Air that you would were you performing it on the Harpsichord, except that you should play the trills a little slower because of the sanctity of the Place" (cited in Anthony, p. 335).

49. Anthony cites as an example a trio from the *Pièces d'orgue pour le magnificat* (1706) by the composer Guilain. He notes that "Its chains of suspensions and voice crossings clearly show the influence of Corelli. The *Grand Jeu* from the same collection has the mechanical rhythmic pulsations and wide melodic profile of the Italian concerto. The piece is constructed around one motive and structured like a short concerto movement." (Anthony, p. 340) The influence of the secular style grew throughout the eighteenth century. Already by 1727, Nemeitz wrote of a midnight Mass that "the music that is performed in the churches is not too devout since the organ plays minuets and all types of wordly tunes". In 1771 (the year of Berteau's death), Burney still noted that at Saint-Roch, "When they sang the Magnificat, [the organist] in the same manner between each verse, played several minuets, fugues, imitations, and every species of music, even to hunting pieces and jigs, without surprising or offending the congregation". While it is clear that secular music, including dance music, was common in the French liturgy in the eighteenth century, and that the style exhibited in the Barrière, Boismortier or Berteau sonatas would not have been seen as out of place in a liturgical setting, it still remains to be proven that instruments other that the organ were commonly used in French churches.

50. See Lescat, 'maîtrise' in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France,* ed. by Benoit, pp. 431–32.

51. See Bardet, 'Violons, Petit', in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France,* ed. by Benoit, p. 724

10 s. to an unnamed "jouer de *basse de violon*" for having "accompagné la musique dans les grandes festes depuis environ six mois" was recorded on 1 July 1724.[52] On 13 June 1725, a payment of 7 l. 10 s. was made to a *basse de violon* player for having accompanied at Tenebrae and Easter.[53] Later, in 1753, the Duke of Luynes noted the presence of cellos at the Sainte-Chapelle: "il y a dix-sept ou dix-huit musiciens attachés à la Sainte-Chapelle, tous payés par le Roi. Ces places ainsi que celles des enfants de chœur sont données par le Trésorier. Ces musiciens ont environ chacun 7 ou 800 livres d'appointements et la liberté d'exercer leurs talents dans Paris; il n'y a que des voix, des bassons, des violoncelles et un organiste".[54]

1.6 Printing and Publishing: The Dissemination of the Solo Cello Repertoire

The printing and distribution of solo cello music in Paris, beginning with Boismortier's Op. 26 sonatas of 1729, played a vital role in establishing the instrument, both through disseminating the repertoire, and by facilitating access to Italian and German works which were also issued through Parisian firms. Most French cello sonatas from the first half of the century survive only in printed form. The handful of French cello manuscripts extant today suggests that even in the eighteenth century, their numbers were not high. This is in marked contrast to the situation Italy and German-speaking lands, where most cello sonatas circulated in manuscript, and relatively large numbers still survive.[55] No doubt a considerable amount of music, manuscript

52. Arch. Nat. LL 612 fol. 144 r°, cited in Michel Brenet, *Les Musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais: Documents inédits, recueillis et annotés* (Paris: Picard, 1910; repr. Geneva: Minkoff, 1973), p. 282.

53. Arch. Nat. LL 612, fol. 167 r°, cited in Brenet, *Les Musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle*, p. 283

54. Luynes, Charles-Philippe d'Albert, duc de, *Mémoires du duc de Luynes sur la cour de Louis XV (1735–1758)* ed. by Louis Dussieux and Eudore Soulié, 17 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860–65), XIII (1863), p. 37. "There are 17 or 18 musicians attached to the Sainte-Chapelle, all employed by the King. These positions, as well as those for the choirboys, are provided for by the Treasurer. The musicians receive a fixed salary of around 700 or 800 livres, and have the freedom to exercise their talents in Paris; there are only voices, bassoons, cellos, and an organist".

55. Surviving manuscripts for cello in France include: an anonymous collection of *Sonates pour violoncelle et basse*, F-Pn Vm^{7}.6331; *Six concertos en trio pour un violoncelle ou basson obligé, violon et basse*, F-Pn Vm^{7}.4878 fol. 1-20; and a manuscript collection in F-Psg, MS 1090, containing cello sonatas by Wenzel Thomas, 12 sonatas by Antonio Bononcini, and copies (from the prints) of Livres II, III and IV by Barrière. The *3 sonates del signore Berteau et un air varié pour le violoncelle*, 1759 (manuscript copy in the hand of Abbé Rozé), F-Pn MS.3521$^{1\text{-}5}$ are in fact violin sonatas. By way of comparison, there are 31 manuscript copies of violin sonatas by Jean-Marie Leclair (1697–1764) listed in the RISM online database <http://opac.rism.info/index.php?id=2&L=1> [accessed 4 February 2011]. On manuscript sources in other countries, see Cowling, *The Cello*, pp. 223-26, who lists many Italian cello sonatas, in

and printed, was lost during the 1789 revolution, but this does not diminish the primary significance of prints in France.

We can only speculate about the market for this printed cello repertoire. As prices for printed music were high in comparison to everyday items,[56] it is likely that sonatas were purchased either by professional musicians—cellists looking for repertoire to play in the salons or other cellist-composers wishing to study the scores (these may have been one and the same person)—or wealthy, possibly noble amateurs.[57] The sonatas which made limited technical demands on the performer were designed for amateur performance, and probably had the largest market and so perhaps the best chance of survival through extant copies. But we should acknowledge the likelihood of a significant number of amateurs and enthusiasts for the instrument capable of at least attempting the demanding repertoire of Barrière, Masse, Martin and Berteau.

Whatever the market, the tendency for the cello to establish itself in France through non-establishment conduits is further exemplified in the history of the publication of its repertoire. Prior to 1690, only one music publisher operated in Paris. The Ballard firm had been dominant in French music publishing since 1551 when Robert Ballard and Adrian Le Roy were granted a *privilège* to print music by Henri II, succeeding Attaingnant as royal music printers in 1553.[58] By the early eighteenth century the firm's repertoire "was neither particularly large nor central to Paris music, consisting mainly of popular songs and treatises".[59] Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, who took over the firm in 1715, focused on "*Airs sérieux et à boire* and ... various 'Tendresses', 'Parodies', 'Amusements' and 'Menuets chantants'".[60] He did not include any sonatas, let alone sonatas for the cello.

When Jean-Baptiste-Christophe's father, Christophe Ballard, gained control of the firm in 1673, he was granted a *privilège* as sole music printer to the king.[61] But this *privilège* applied only to type,[62] leaving room for a new generation of publishers and on-sellers to exploit the newer and more adapt-

manuscript copies. The largest German collection of manuscript cello sonatas from this era is in the Musiksammlung des Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid (D-WD).

56. See Devriès, *Édition et commerce de la musique gravée à Paris dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1976), p. 52

57. Not all those nobles who bought the works would have necessarily been cellists; some copies at least may have been bought by collectors.

58. Samuel F. Pogue and Jonathan Le Cocq, 'Ballard', in *GMO* [accessed 20 January 2011]

59. Stanley Boorman, et al, 'Printing and Publishing of Music', in *GMO* [accessed 5 January 2011]

60. Pogue and Le Cocq.

61. ibid

62. Pogue and Le Cocq add that "in 1713 Leclair and several other musicians obtained privileges to print music from engraved plates. Ballard entered a suit against them but lost; he was considered to have the exclusive right only to print music in the old method."

able system of plate engraving to respond to and even shape the tastes of a market hungry for instrumental and vocal music in the new (to Parisian ears) Italian style. These included, by the end of the 1730s, the firms of François Boivin, Jean-Pantaléon Leclerc,[63] and especially his younger brother, Charles-Nicolas,[64] as well as more peripheral figures such as Hue, Le Menu,[65] and M^me^ Castagnery (all discussed below). It is in the catalogues of this new generation of distributors, not of the long-established Ballard firm, that we find not only the many violin sonatas and operatic excerpts that would increasingly dominate French taste, but also the significant if smaller repertoire of cello sonatas.[66]

Publishers and Distributors

Neither Boivin nor Jean Pataléon Leclerc were publishers in the modern sense of the term. They were distributors. The firm eventually owned by François Boivin was the earliest music-selling business in Paris. Situated at the sign of *La Règle d'or,* it was created when the stationer, Henry Foucault, converted his stationer's business into a music shop sometime between 1690 and 1692.[67] Foucault did not select works to be published, nor did he take on the financial burden of having them engraved and printed. Rather, he sold in his shop any printed music available in France. This included not only works which individuals (composers, *maîtres de musique* and patrons) had had engraved and printed in Paris at their own cost (selling these for commission formed the mainstay of Foucault's business), but also works published by the Ballard firm and those published by foreign publishers such as Le Cène, Roger and Walsh. This model, *marchand-dépositaire,* was to remain the principal mode of operation for music-selling in Paris until the second half of the eighteenth century. It continued when François Boivin took over the

63. Throughout this thesis, I use the standard French spelling, 'Leclerc'.

64. The addresses and even owners of these shops changed hands in the course of their existence; nonetheless, these are the convenient designations employed by Devriès in *Édition et commerce.*

65. From 1742, according to Devriès in 'Édition musicale', in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France* ed. by Marcelle Benoit (Paris: Fayard, 1992), pp. 261–62 (p. 261), but from 1758 according to Devriès' article 'Le Menu de Saint-Philbert, Christophe' also in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France* ed. by Benoit, p. 389. Possibly he sold only his own music from 1742 to 1758.

66. Other music-sellers went into business between 1755 and 1760: the violinist Venier (1755), the composer Taillart (1758), and the engravers Moria (1756), Tarade (1759) and Vendôme (1759). La Chevardière acquired J.-P. Leclerc's stock in 1758, and presented himself as Leclerc's successor.

67. Devriès, *Édition et commerce*, p. 13. This paragraph is based on Devriès. Foucault issued only partial lists of his stock (see Devriès, n. 5), but it is unlikely that he sold any cello music himself. None of the extant cello repertoire mentions Foucault on the title page.

shop in 1721,[68] and was replicated by Jean-Pantaléon Leclerc (Leclerc *l'aîné*), a member of the *Vingt-quatre violons*, when he opened a similar business in the rue du Roule at the sign of *La Croix d'or* in 1728. Their successors maintained the firms on similar lines: Boivin's widow, Élisabeth-Catherine, daughter of J.-B.-C. Ballard, ran the shop from his death in 1733 until its closure 20 years later (its stock was sold to Marc Bayard in 1753), and in 1751 Leclerc handed over the lease to his daughter, Anne-Cécile Vernadé who sold the business to Louis Balthasard de la Chevardière in 1758.

Devriès notes that the shops of Boivin and Leclerc *l'aîné* collaborated rather than competed. They sold the same works, at the same prices, and their two addresses appeared together on the title pages of most of the works they sold.[69] They also placed joint advertisements in the periodicals. In practice, their impact on the dissemination of cello music in Paris seems more or less equivalent.

Leclerc's younger brother, Charles-Nicolas (Leclerc *le cadet*), differed from his competitors in being a publisher as well as seller of cello music. Starting in 1736, he selected works for publication, bore engraving and printing costs and, until 1760, sold only those works he had chosen, from his premises in the rue St. Honoré. This entrepreneurship paid off, with C.-N. Leclerc being the only one of the four businesses (including Ballard's) to prosper beyond the 1750s.[70] From 1760 he diversified as a paper-seller and *marchand-dépositaire*. Leclerc's reference to this on his late catalogue sheets specifies both French and Italian music produced by other publishers, suggesting that his role in the dissemination of Italian style was one that he expressly cultivated. The works themselves were not listed in these catalogues, but his name appears on the title page of the publications deposited with him.[71]

Three other names are associated with the publication of cello sonatas, especially in the latter part of our period, but as a secondary occupation and in smaller quantities. Louis-Hector Hue (c. 1699–1768), one of the most important Parisian engravers of his time, also acted as a publisher, as evidenced by his *privilèges* and catalogues. Hue's music-selling activity took place between 1734 and 1765, issuing catalogues in 1744, 1745, 1755, 1757, and 1760.[72] Only four sets of cello sonatas in total appeared in his catalogues,

68. Boivin's uncle, the double bassist Michel Pignolet de Monteclair, was also a partner, but remained in the business for only three years.

69. Devriès, *Édition et commerce*, pp. 13–13.

70. Devriès, *Édition et commerce*, p. 36. Devriès also acknowledges a certain slowing down in Leclerc's activities after 1767, since no catalogue appeared after this. The Ballard firm continued until 1825, but in marked decline from its seventeenth-century heyday.

71. Devriès, *Édition et commerce*, p. 8.

72. See Devriès, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français: des origines à environ 1820* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1979), and Devriès, 'Édition musicale' in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France* ed. by Marcelle Benoit (Paris: Fayard, 1992), pp. 261–62.

three by Italians: San Martini's [Sammartini's] Op. 4, Chinzer's Op. 1 (both in the 1744 catalogue) and Chinzer's Op. 2 (1755 catalogue), and one French set, Nochez's Op. 1 (1760 catalogue). The Op. 1 Chinzer and Op. 4 Sammartini sonatas also appear in the 1751 catalogue issued by J.-P. Leclerc. Christophe Le Menu de Saint-Philbert (d. 1774) published and sold his own works from 1742 to 1757 (presumably from his residence), before opening a music shop to sell the works of other composers. He issued six catalogues (1763, 1765, 1769, 1771, 1772, 1773–74).[73] Although mainly active in the latter part of the century, Le Menu is significant for publishing the sonatas of several cellists who were active in Paris before 1760 (Patouart, Jean-Baptiste Cupis, Carlo Graziani), and re-publishing the Berteau sonatas in 1772.[74] Marie-Anne Castagneri (or Castagnery) sold music from 1747. Her name is frequently linked to other sellers: Boivin and Leclerc between 1748 and 1753, and their successors Bayard and Vernadé between 1753 and 1757.[75] She issued no catalogues, but her name appears on the title pages of some cello sonatas.

Some repertoire distributed in Paris circulated in the provinces as well, either through bookshops or via *maîtres de musique*. From 1734, the Lyon bookseller de Bretonne had his name and address printed on the title-pages of several publications which were sold in Paris as well as in his shop.[76] After 1758, the names of his successors, the brothers Legoux (also Le Goux) appeared in the same way, as did those of the Dijonnais seller Cappas (in 1743) and the Lyonnais Castaud (in 1762). Advertisements of published music inserted by Parisian music printers in journals such as the *Mercure de France* also indicated these provincial addresses. At least some cello sonatas are known to have circulated in this way: the addresses of Castaud in Lyon, as well as listings of the towns of Rouen, Toulouse and Dunkerque (sellers not named; presumably known to those who lived in these towns), on the title page of Le Menu's re-publication (1771) of Berteau's sonatas. Other examples of cello sonatas carrying provincial sellers' addresses on their title pages

73. Devriès, *Dictionnaire des éditieurs de musique français,* pp. 108–109. For the catalogues themselves, see Cari Johansson, *French Music Publishers Catalogues of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1955).

74. For the cello sonatas in the catalogues of Le Menu, Le Menu et Boyer and Boyer, see Johansson. The Berteau sonatas were originally published in 1748, and sold through the shops of J.-P. Leclerc and M^{me} Boivin, as well as by a "Sr. Blaise, près de la Comédie Italienne". The title page of the 1748 edition gives the composer as a 'Sr. Martino'. See Adas, p. 371 for the two title pages. The Berteau sonatas do not appear in Le Menu's catalogue until 1777. However, Adas believes they were printed in 1772, as "a catalogue ... that is bound with the sonatas includes a *Journal... des plus jolies airs des opéras comiques* that appeared annually from 1762 to 1773, and the last year given for it in the attached advertisement is 1772" (370). (This particular *Journal* is not in the catalogue in the facsimile edition published by Adas in *ECCS*, VII, p. 243.)

75. Devriès, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, p. 47.

76. Devriès; she does not say which ones.

include Lepin's Op. 2, with the address of Castaud (Lyon), and Patouart's Op. 1, with the address of the Lille seller Bordery, in addition to the Parisian distributors. These appearances after 1758, probably give us firm evidence of a long-standing tradition, and are indicative of the spread of the cello.

It was the Parisian music-sellers, rather than the composers themselves, who dealt with the provincial on-sellers by providing them with a selection of prints to be sold in their shops, the music sometimes being transported by travelling performers or composers. The fact that cellists in the provinces had access to this music means that they were able to keep up with developments in both instrumental technique and compositional style, and helps explain how it was possible for so many cellists (Stück, L'abbé, Barrière, and Berteau) to have originated from the French provinces. An interesting case is that of the provincial musician, Michel Louis Moulinghem (d. 1769), discussed above. His collection of cello music included much of the music considered in this dissertation, including works by Barrière, Corrette and Giraud; he appeared to favour foreign works published in Paris, including sonatas by Fesch, Klein and Triemer, and the Italians Vivaldi, Cervetto, Cirri, Lanzetti, Ferrari, Galeotti, Canavas, and Sammartini. [77]

The Production, Distribution, and Purchase of Printed Cello Music in Paris

Our best indication of the distribution of printed cello music in France in the first half of the eighteenth century is found in the catalogues issued by Jean-Pantaléon Leclerc from 1734 to 1751, the catalogue issued by la Veuve Boivin in 1742, and the twelve catalogues issued by Charles-Nicolas Leclerc from 1738 to 1767 (a final catalogue was also issued by Charles-Nicolas Leclerc's widow in 1775). The repertoire of sonatas and other solos they reveal may be divided into three categories: [78]

1. Works engraved and printed in Paris, at the cost of the composer or his patron, and sold through the shops of Boivin and J.-P. Leclerc. These are listed in the catalogues under the heading *Sonates pour le violoncelle*

77. The music in Moulinghem's collection is detailed in Jean-François Détrée, 'Un répertoire pervers: L'Inventaire des partitions d'un organiste coutançais du XVIII^{e} siècle', in *Nédélèqueries: Recueil d'articles offerts à Yves Nédélec, archiviste départemental de la Manche de 1954 à 1994* (Saint-Lô: Société d'archéologie et d'histoire de la Manche, 1994), pp. 141–149.

78. There were few solos other than sonatas published for the cello in France at this time. The exceptions are: *Les Gentils Airs* (F-Pn), a collection of *Pièces Choisies* by Chedeville, advertised in J.-P. Leclerc's catalogues and now lost, a concerto for four cellos by Corrette (F Pa), a collection of *Brunettes pour le violoncelle et 2 bassons* by Jean-Pantaléon Leclerc, now lost. Stéphan Perrau, in his introduction to Boismortier, *Cinq sonates, un concerto opus 26 (violoncelle, viole ou basson); Six sonate, un trio opus 50 (violoncello, viole ou basson)* (Courlay: Fuzeau, 2000), believes that Boismortier's Op. 88 (lost) was a set of six concertos for cello, viol or bassoon.

2. Works which were engraved and published in Amsterdam, and which were also sold in the shops of Boivin and J.-P. Leclerc and listed in their catalogues under the heading *Musique italienne*, and
3. Works which were specifically selected and printed by C.-N. Leclerc, listed in his catalogues but not distinguished in any way, and sold at his shop in rue St. Honoré.

1. Works distributed by Boivin and J.-P. Leclerc: The works for cello in the catalogues issued by J.-P. Leclerc between 1734 and 1751 and the catalogue issued by Boivin's widow, Elizabeth Catherine, in 1742, are detailed in Table 1.3.[79] C.-N. Leclerc's almost total neglect of French compositions for the cello up to 1750 meant that French composers had little recourse but to print their music themselves and arrange for sales through the shops of Boivin and Leclerc *l'aîné*. Most composers also sold their works from their own homes, as evidenced by the printing of 'Chez l'auteur' alongside the addresses of Boivin and Leclerc on many publications (see Figure 1.1). This does not necessarily mean that they had to bear the costs of engraving and printing, although this was probably usual. A patron could also sponsor the publication of a set of sonatas, and in this way influence the dissemination of composers' works. Essentially, this would mean that the composer sought patronage, and offered a dedication.[80] Table 1.3 lists all the sonatas listed under the heading *Sonates pour le violoncelle* in J.-P. Leclerc's catalogues.

Table 1.3 – Cello sonatas listed in the catalogues of J.-P. Leclerc

Composer	Work	Catalogues
Antoniotti	Op. 1	1734–37
Barrière	Livre I	1734–51
Barrière	Livre II	1734–51
Barrière	Livre III	1742–51
Barrière	Livre IV	1751
Baur	Livre I	1751
Blainville	Livre I	1751
Boismortier	Op. 26	1734–51
Boismortier	Op. 50	1734–51
Boismortier	Op. 88 (Concertinos, lost)	1751
Cervetto	Livre I	1742–51

79. Sonatas that also appear in the catalogues of C.-N. Leclerc are not included.
80. Devriès, *Édition et commerce*, p. 43. The process of dedications is discussed in detail in David Hennebelle, *De Lully à Mozart: Aristocratie, musique et musiciens à Paris, XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècle*s (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2009), pp. 133–36.

Chédeville	Pièces choisies	1742–51
Chinzer	Livre I	1751
Chinzer	Livre V	1742–51
Corrette	Les délices de la solitude	1742–51
Corette	Concerto	1734–51
Dupuits	Op. 17	1751
Fesch	Op. 4b	1734–37
Fesch	Op. 8a	1734–37
Geminiani	Op. 5 (Livre I)	1751
Gianotti	Op. 12	1751
Giraud	Livre I	1751
Guignon	Livre II	1734–51
Klein	Op. 1	1734–51
Martino	Op. 1	1751
Massart	Livre I	1751
Masse	Op. 1	1737
Patouart	Op. 1	1742–51
Saggione	Livre I	1734–51
Sammartini	Livre IV	1751
Zuccarini	Livre I	1737–51

The sonatas by Barrière provide a useful example of the process of issuing and sale of such a publication. A *privilège* was issued to Barrière on 1 November 1733, for "plusieurs *Sonates* et autres ouvrages de musique instrumentale de sa composition."[81] Before printing, permission would have been sought from the Compte de Guergorlay for the dedication. The *Mercure de France* announced the publication in November 1733, and the sonatas appeared in the catalogue issued by J.-P. Leclerc in 1734, as well as in subsequent catalogues. Copies of the sonatas were then sold from Barrière's own residence, as well as from the shops of Boivin and J.-P. Leclerc, as advertised on the title page (Figure 1.1). An unchanged re-issue, with a *privilège* dated 6 December 1739, shows the work continued to be printed after the original *privilège* had expired.[82]

Almost all of the cello repertoire by French composers published in the first half of the eighteenth century was sold through the shops of Boivin and Leclerc *l'aîné* and from the composers' own residences. The sonatas of Barrière, Berteau, Boismortier, Blainville, Corrette, Giraud, Guignon, François

81. Michel Brenet, 'La librairie musicale en France de 1653 à 1790, d'après les registres de privilèges', *Sammelbande der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 8 (1907), 401–466 (p. 447).

82. See Philippe Lescat, introduction to Jean Barrière, *Sonates pour le violoncelle avec la basse continue: Livre I (1733)*, facs. ed., (Courlay: Fuzeau, 1995), p. 5.

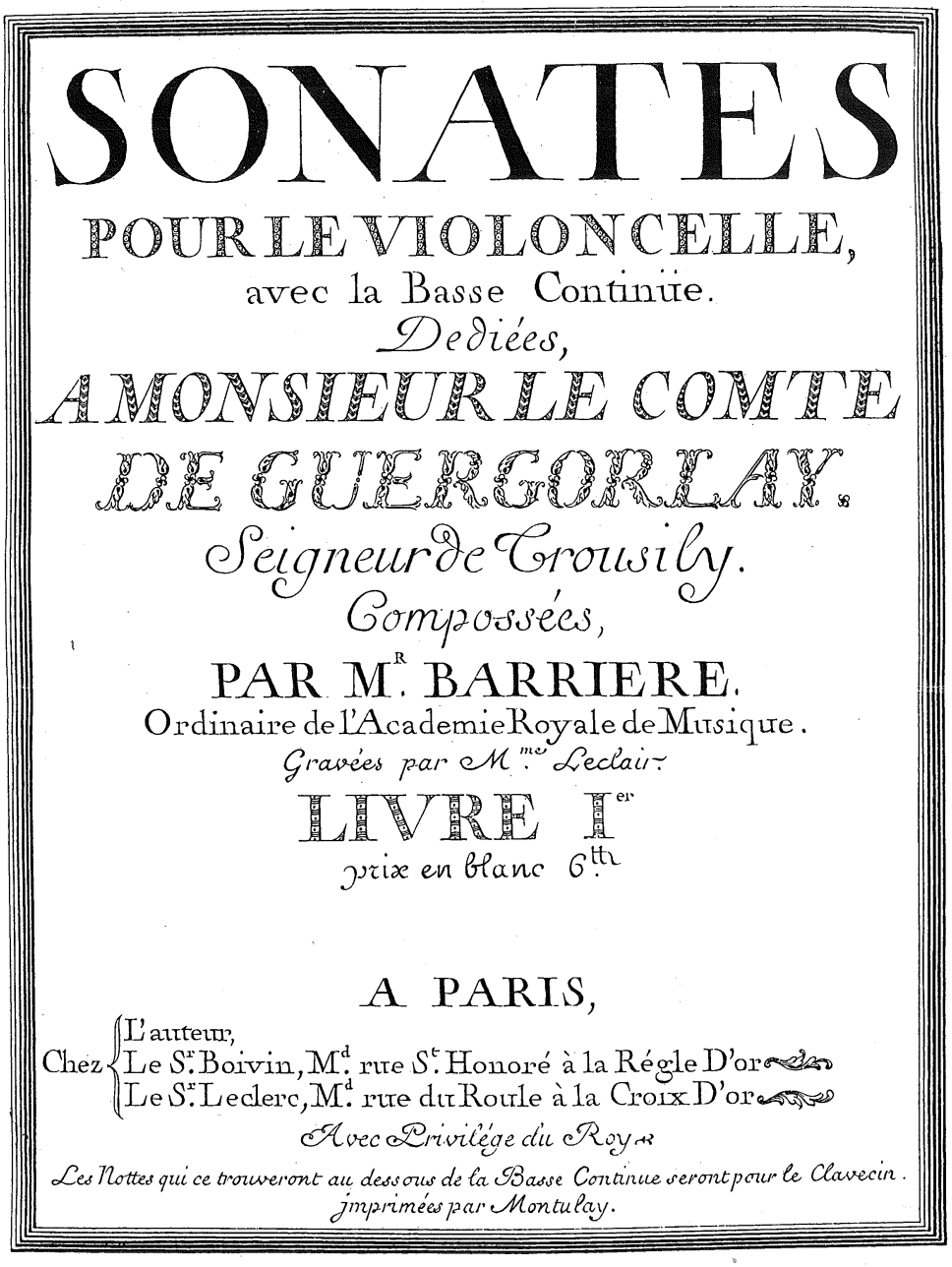

SONATES
POUR LE VIOLONCELLE,
avec la Basse Continüe.
Dediées,
A MONSIEUR LE COMTE
DE GUERGORLAY.
Seigneur de Crousily.
Compossées,
PAR Mr. BARRIERE.
Ordinaire de l'Academie Royale de Musique.
Gravées par Mme. Leclair
LIVRE Ier
prix en blanc 6th
A PARIS,
Chez { L'auteur,
Le Sr. Boivin, Md. rue St. Honoré à la Régle D'or
Le Sr. Leclerc, Md. rue du Roule à la Croix D'or }
Avec Privilége du Roy.
Les Nottes qui ce trouveront au dessous de la Basse Continue seront pour le Clavecin.
jmprimées par Montulay.

Figure 1.1 – Title page to Barrière's Livre I cello sonatas (1733).

Martin, and Patouart were all sold in this way. Indeed, among the French repertoire, the only exceptions were Jean-Baptiste Masse's Opp. 2, 3 and 4, the anonymous *Gentils airs*, and Op. 2 by Cupis, published by Charles-Nicolas Leclerc. (He also published Masse's Op. 1 after it had already been sold through the other Parisian shops).

In addition, some Italian cello repertoire, engraved and printed in Paris, is listed in the catalogues of Leclerc *l'aîné,* including sonatas by Cervetto, Gianotti, Geminiani, and Sammartini.

2. Sources originating from abroad: The Parisian distributors were vital in disseminating not only the works of French cellists, but also collections of cello music composed and printed in other countries, primarily the Low Countries: Op. 1 by Antoniotti (Le Cène), Opp. 4 (l'auteur)[83] and 8 (Le Cène)[84] by Willem de Fesch, and Opp. 1 and 2 (both Roger and Le Cène) by Jakob Klein.[85] Many cello sonatas originally published in Amsterdam were sold in Paris by Boivin and Leclerc *l'aîné* in their original prints; others were re-engraved by Charles-Nicolas Leclerc. In the catalogues of Leclerc *l'aîné* these are in a column headed *Musique Italienne* if they were published by foreign publishers, but were listed under the usual heading, *Sonates pour le violoncelle* (sometimes spelt *Violon Celle* or *Violon de Chelle*) when re-engraved and printed in Paris.

All of the examples of foreign–published cello repertoire sold in France were published originally by Estienne Roger, or by his successor and son-in-law, Michel-Charles Le Cène.[86] The cello sonatas issued by a third Dutch publisher active during this period, Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel (between 1731 and 1744), were not available in Paris, at least in his editions. But this is not to say that they remained completely inaccessible to French musicians. Of the seven sets of cello sonatas which appear in Witvogel's catalogues (1733, 1742 and 1742–3), three were re-published by Charles-Nicolas Leclerc, and a fourth was sold by the shops of Boivin and J.-P. Leclerc in a publication by Le Cène.[87] Of the three sonata sets not distributed at all in Paris, two are by composers whose other cello sonatas are represented: these works are

83. See Devriès, *Édition et commerce,* 185.

84. This work does not appear in Le Cène's 1737 catalogue. If Devriès has seen it, it is likely that it was published after 1737.

85. The Klein works are in both catalogues presumably because Le Cène carried Roger's stock following the latter's death.

86. Estienne Roger published from c. 1690 until his death in 1722. After Roger's death, Michel-Charles Le Cène continued to publish until 1743. Apart from Witvogel, the only other important Dutch firms before 1760 were Amédée Le Chevalier (1689–1702), and the family of Hummel (Amsterdam, 1753–1822; The Hague, 1755–c1801).

87. For Witvogel's catalogues, see Albert Dunning, *De muziekuitgever Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel en zijn fonds: Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse muziekuitgeverij in de achttiende eeuw* (Utrecht, A. Oosthoek, 1966). The sonatas re-published by C.-N. Leclerc are Marcello's

the Op. 2 of Marcello, and the Op. 4 of Klein (spelt Klyn). The final set of cello sonatas in Witvogel's catalogue which was not distributed in Paris is the Op. 5 of Giacomo Nozeman.

No Italian publications of cello sonatas appear in the French catalogues. As both Devriès and Adas have noted, music circulated primarily in manuscript copies in Italy, and also in Germany, at this time. [88] Nonetheless, a considerable number of Italian cello sonatas, engraved in Amsterdam, or in Paris itself, were sold by the Parisian publishers, and many Italian composers, whether residing in Paris or not, had their works engraved in Paris at their own cost. Geminiani, for example, is reputed to have moved to Paris because of the quality of the French engravers: [89] his cello sonatas, Op. 5, were engraved there by M^{me} Vendôme in 1746 and sold in the shops of M^{me} Boivin and J.-P. Leclerc. [90] A considerable number of cello sonatas (often called 'solos') were published in Britain in the first half of the eighteenth century by a variety of publishers, most notably John Walsh and John Johnson. As in France, many cello solos were printed for the composer and sold in various shops, but none of these was distributed in Paris. This may seem surprising as some of the (non-cello) works listed under *Musique Italienne* in Jean-Pantaléon Leclerc's catalogues were from Walsh's stock. However, Lowell Lindgren's research has revealed that some of the Italian cello sonatas issued by the British publishers were in fact re-engravings of works originally published in Paris. No cello sonatas by French composers were published in Britain during this period, [91] and most likely there were no solos by English composers sold in France because the cello developed later as a solo instrument there than in France. [92]

3. The Publications of C.-N. Leclerc: Two facts become strikingly clear from the catalogues of Charles-Nicolas Leclerc: first, his significant interest in the cello, and second his preference for cello sonatas by foreign, rather than French, composers. His first catalogue, issued some time before 1738,

Op. 1, Triemer's Op. 1, and Lanzetti's Op. 1. The sonata set distributed by the firms of Boivin and J.-P. Leclerc in Le Cène's edition is Willem de Fesch's Op. 8.

88. See 'General Introduction', *ECCS*, p. xii and Devriès, *Édition et Commerce,* p. 45.

89. Heartz, p. 619.

90. These sonatas were also issued in The Hague and in London.

91. See Lowell Lindgren, 'Italian Violoncellists and some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain,* ed. by David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

92. The authoritative study of the cello in Britain in this period is Brenda Neece, 'The Cello in Britain: A Technical and Social History', *The Galpin Society Journal* 56 (2003), 77–115. See also Lowell Lindgren, 'Italian Violoncellists and Some Violoncello Solos Published in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain,* ed. by David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 121–157. The earliest English cello compositions were Robert Valentine's six sonatas for two cellos (GB-Lbl Add. 54207); nothing further by English composers appears to have been published until John Garth issued his six cello concertos in 1760.

contains three sets of cello sonatas by Lanzetti, Triemer and Somis, but only two sets of violin sonatas (Corelli's Op. 5 and Guillemain's Livre 2), as well as a set for violin or flute (Rane), and a Caprice and Routade for violin by Rebel. [93]

His second catalogue, dating from 1738/9, contains four sets of cello sonatas in addition to the three in the first catalogue, equally four sets of sonatas for solo violin (there is also one set for flute or violin, 3 sets of violin duos, six sets of solo flute sonatas, and 5 sets of flute duos). Yet of the 34 sets of cello sonatas listed across all of his 13 catalogues, only eight are by French composers (Masse, Cupis *le jeune*, Lepin, and the *Gentils airs*). Apart from the sonatas by Masse, no French cello sonatas were published by C.-N. Leclerc until the 1760s. However, the *Gentils airs,* a collection of airs by various composers, including de La Tour and Rameau, arranged for two cellos, is listed from the 1752–1760 catalogue onwards. All the remaining sonatas are by Italians (Giacobbe Basevi Cervetto, Antonio Forni, Stefano Galeotti, Salvatore Lanzetti, Benedetto Marcello, Giovanni Battista Somis, Antonio Vivaldi, and Antonio Vandini) or musicians from the Low Countries or Germany (Willem de Fesch, Jakob Klein, Johannes Schenk, Wenzel Thomas, Johann Zewalt Triemer), and Wenceslaus Spourny, a possibly Bohemian cellist resident in France. [94] Given that the commercial success of C-.N. Leclerc has been explained by Devriès as an accurate reading of the market, [95] Leclerc's choices might well reflect a French preference for foreign cello works rather than French, regardless of style. This suggests that the cello was still viewed as an exotic, foreign instrument, best catered for by foreign composers. [96] In any event, it ensured that this foreign repertoire would be familiar to, and influential on the French cellist-composers—Barrière, Berteau, Masse, Martin, Lepin, Blainville, Giraud, Patouart, and the non-cellists Boismortier and Corrette.

The cello works which appear in the catalogues of C.-N. Leclerc are given in Table 1.4. Where the works are extant, details of the full titles are supplied from RISM. Otherwise, details as given in the catalogues (normally only the opus number) are supplied. The names of composers have been

93. This catalogue is not given in Devriès, *Édition et commerce,* but is bound within Johann Triemer's Op. 1 cello sonatas (F-Pn, GB-Lbl, NL-DHgm, US-NYp; facsimile edition in *Mid Eighteenth-Century Cello Sonatas* ed. by Jane Adas, p. 178). In addition to the solo violin works, there is also one listing of violin duets (Tessarini Opp. 1 and 2, listed together for one price), and one listing of 'Sonates a 2 V[iolons] et Basse ad libitum' by Förster. Flute sonatas and duos are listed in the same section as the violin works; there are eight sets for flute or two flutes, including the Rane set discussed above.

94. In the absence of any biographical data on some of these composers, I have had to assign their nationality based on their name. Therefore, I assume that Antonio Forni is Italian, and that Wenzel Thomas is German.

95. See Devriès, *Édition et commerce,* p. 36.

96. It also reinforces the idea that the French composers were self-publishers.

modernized (i.e. de Fesch for Defesch, Forni for Fourni, Spourni for Spourny). The catalogues are dated by Devriès as follows: [97]

1. 1738–39
2. December 1740
3. 1741–September 1742
4. August 1743
5. 1744
6. 1747
7. 1748
8. 1748–49
9. July 1749–1750
10. April 1752–November 1760
11. November 1760–1762
12. end of 1767

I have located an earlier catalogue, not discussed by Devriès, bound in Triemer's cello sonatas. This must date earlier than the first Devriès catalogue (although after 1738 since that is when the privilège for the sonatas was issued), and is thus numbered as 'o' in the table.

Table 1.4 – Cello Sonatas Listed in the Catalogues of C.-N. Leclerc

Composer	**Work**	**Catalogues**
Salvatore Lanzetti	XII Sonate a violoncello solo e basso continuo … opera prima.	o–12
Jean (Johann) Triemer	VI Sonata a violoncello solo con basso continuo … oeuvre premier.	o–12
Giovanni Battista Somis	XII Sonate a violoncello solo.	o–12
Willem de Fesch	VI Sonates à deux violoncelles, bassons ou violles … second œuvre. [98]	1–12
Willem de Fesch	VI Sonates à deux violoncelles, bassons ou violles … troisième œuvre. [99]	2–12
Jakob Klein	Op. 1	2–12
Jakob Klein	Op. 2	2–12

97. See Devriès, *Édition et commerce*, pp. 95–117.

98. There are also editions by V^{ve} Boivin (RISM A/I: F 619) and Benjamin Cooke (RISM A/I: F 629), published as Op. 8.

99. Also published as Op. 4 in Amsterdam (RISM Series A/I: F 623) and in an undated edition, with no place of publication (RISM Series A/I: F 624).

Composer	Work	Catalogues
Antonio Vivaldi	VI Sonates, violoncello solo col basso.	2–12
Johannes Schenk	Op. 9, for viola da gamba. [100]	3–12
Wenceslaus Spourny	Six sonates pour deux violoncelles … oeuvre IVe.	3–12
Jean-Baptiste Masse	Sonates à deux violonchelles … c'est [!] sonates peuvent s'exécuter sur deux instruments égaux comme deux bassons, deux violles et deux violons, œuvre Ir. (1736)	4–12
Jean-Baptiste Masse	Sonates à deux violonchelles … ces sonates peuvent s'exécuter sur deux instruments égaux comme deux bassons, deux violles et deux violons … œuvre IIe. (1736)	4–12
Jean-Baptiste Masse	Sonates en duo pour deux violonchelles … ses [!] sonates peuvent s'exécuter sur deux instruments égaux comme deux bassons, deux violles et deux violons … œuvre IIIe.	4–12
Jean-Baptiste Masse	Sonates à deux violonchelles ou deux bassons … œuvre IVe.	4–12
Wenceslaus Spourny	Op. 12 [101]	4–12
Thomas	Premier livre contenant VI sonates à II violoncelles, violes, ou bassons. 1735.	4–11
Thomas	Op. 3	4–11
Benedetto Marcello	VI Sonate a violoncello e basso continuo … opera prima	5–12
Wenceslaus Spourny	Duo, Op. 13	5–12
Wenceslaus Spourny	Six sonates en duo pour deux violoncelles obligez … œuvre XIVe.	5–12
Willem de Fesch	Sonates à deux violoncelles, bassons ou violles … premier oeuvre	9–12
Antonio Forni	XII Sonate a violoncello solo e basso … opera prima.	9–12
Antonio Forni	Op. 2, solo	9–12

100. This is included here because it is listed in the column of cello sonatas in the catalogues. It is the only viola da gamba set to appear in C.-N. Leclerc's catalogues.

101. This work is listed without an opus number in Catalogue 4; however, the unusual spelling 'Spourny' allows it to be identified, since Op. 12 retains this spelling of the composer's name in later catalogues.

Composer	Work	Catalogues
Jakob Klein	Op. 3	9–12
Salvatore Lanzetti	Op. 2	9–12
Salvatore Lanzetti	Op. 3	9–12
Giacobbo Basevi Cervetto	Op. 2	10–12
(anon)	Les Gentils airs ou airs connus ajustée en duo pour deux violoncelles, bassons ou violes.	10–12
Maltaize	Op. 1	10–12
Jean-Baptiste Cupis *(le jeune)*	Six sonates à violoncelle et basse … première œuvre	11–12
Galeotti	Sei sonate per violoncello solo e basso … opera prima	11–12
Vandini	Op. 1	11–12
Jean-Baptiste Cupis *(le jeune)*	Duo, Op. 2	12
Hermann François Delange	Op. 5	12
Lepin	Op. 1	12

*

C.-N. Leclerc's catalogues suggest quite uneven growth: from an initial three books in the earliest catalogue (c. 1738), one more was added in time for the 1738–39 catalogue; then the number of cello collections doubled to eight books for the 1740 catalogue. However, only two further books (of which one was for viol) were added in the catalogue issued in 1741 or 42. In contrast, seven books were added for the 1743 catalogue, including the four by Masse. This is also the first catalogue to include cello sonatas by a French composer. A further three books were added in 1744, but subsequent catalogues, issued over the next five years, do not add any new cello sonatas. It is not until the catalogue issued in 1749 or 1750, that new cello sonatas are added: six sets, by Dutch and Italian composers. Thereafter, growth is relatively even: two new books were included in the tenth catalogue (issued between 1752 and 1760); three in the catalogue issued between 1760 and 1762, and three in the final catalogue, issued at the end of 1767. This final catalogue is also the first to omit books that appeared in previous catalogues: two books by Thomas are absent, suggesting that prints had sold out and no re-prints had been made.

The initial growth in the catalogues focused on German and Dutch compositions, although these declined due to the omission of the two sets by Wenzel Thomas from the last catalogue. Italian sonatas never outnumbered Dutch and German ones. French cello sonatas only became a significant

element in C.-N Leclerc's catalogue with the addition of four Masse books in 1743; the only other French works were the anonymous *Gentils airs,* and two sonata sets by Cupis which were added after 1760. However, by the time of the last catalogue in 1767, the proportion of Italian, French and Dutch/German sonatas had become much more equal.

The number of books of cello sonatas advertised by Boivin and J.-P. Leclerc kept pace (though on a proportionally smaller scale) with those sonatas for flute, violin and rustic instruments. However, the number of cello sonatas in their catalogues grew at a higher rate that either religious music (*musique spirituelle française* and *musique latine*), or *livres* for *clavecin, pardessus de viole, trompette* and *cor de chasse.* [102]

Taken as a whole, the surviving French catalogues reveal the pattern of growth in the cello sonata repertoire in the first half of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, we need to treat this information cautiously; the catalogues are not evenly spaced chronologically and most cello sonatas, once published, remained in future catalogues. This makes it hard to say whether more cello sonatas were published year by year (exponential growth) or whether new publications remained level from year to year (linear growth). But we can make some generalizations with confidence.

1.7 Title-Pages as a Source of Information

Before turning to an examination of the music itself, it is worthwhile considering the title-pages of the editions as further evidence of the differentiation of the French cello compositions from those by composers from other countries.

The use of the French and Italian languages for the title-pages raises the gallicizing issue in so far as to whether such use is simply a matter of composers using their native language, or a deliberate attempt by French composers to establish a national identity against the prevailing international practice (at least on the continent) of title-pages in Italian, or again, whether the language indicated that the cello sonatas might be viewed as being in either the French or Italian style and so was of some importance to potential purchasers.

As may be expected, the majority of title-pages of cello sonatas published in Paris in this era are in French. Italian, the only other language used,

102. This refers only to the number of **works** in the catalogue, however, and not the number of **copies** sold. Very few *pièces* for the bass viol were published in this era. A volume of Antoine Forqueray's (1672–1745) *pièces* was published by his son, the viol player Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Forqueray (1699–1782), and is in the 1751 Leclerc catalogue. The works of Marin Marais were published earlier, between 1686 and 1725, and have a variety of publishers' and sellers' names on the title pages, including Hurel, Roger, Bonneuil, Foucault, Boivin and Leclerc.

is employed mostly for sonatas by Italian or other non-French composers (Somis, Galeotti, Vivaldi, Chinzer, and Triemer.) Geminiani was the only Italian composer to have sonatas published with a French-language title-page (*Sonates pour le violoncelle et basse continue)*. Only two sets of cello sonatas by French composers have Italian title-pages: Berteau's Op. 1 (*Sonata da camera a violoncello solo col basso continuo*) and Spourny's Op. 9 (*Sei sonate a due violoncelli*). This use of Italian for Spourny's Op. 9 is especially intriguing as the sonatas in this set are among the most French of any within this time-frame, both in terms of their style and in the use of French titles for many of the movements and even entire sonatas. Normally, although French is the most commonly used language for the title-pages, the sonatas themselves are designated "Sonata I", "Sonata II", etc., using the Italian *sonata* rather than the French *sonate*. [103]

Whatever the language used, the title-pages show several variants in the terminology of the contents. By far the most common was the French: *Sonates pour le violoncelle avec la basse continue* (Barrière Livre I, II, III, IV, Baur, Canavas, Massart), and its close relatives: *Sonates pour le violoncelle . . . avec la basse chifrée* (Boismortier Op. 26); *Sonates . . . pour le violoncelle . . . avec la basse continue chiffrée* (Corrette). Parallel Italian titles include *Sonata a violoncello solo con basso continuo* (Triemer); *Sonata da camera a violoncello solo col basso continuo* (Berteau).

Titles more loosely worded with regard the 'continuo' accompaniment include: *Sonates . . . pour les violoncelles ... avec la basse* (Boismortier Op. 50); *Sonate a violoncello col basso* (Chinzer*); Sonates—violoncello solo col basso* (Vivaldi); *Sonate per violoncello solo e basso* (Galeotti). Rather more extreme in this respect are: *Sonates a deux violoncelles* (Masse Op. 1, Op. 2, Op. 5; Thomas Op. 1); *Sei sonate a due violoncelli* (Spourny Op. 9) (see Table 1.5). [104]

All of these sets, despite the absence of *chiffrée* or of any mention of *basso* in some titles, are traditional in that in the sonatas the solo cello is exposed in independent melodic lines and accompanied by other instruments (not necessarily including cello) that provide harmonic support generated from a figured and mainly non-melodic bass line.

However, similarly worded titles *Sonates a deux violoncelles* (Masse Op. 4, Blainville, Saggione) are used for sets comprising sonatas of the duo variety. That is, both cellos (the solo and the accompanying cello) are on a more or

103. The Roman numerals, I, II, etc. are sometimes spelled out in full, still in Italian, viz., Sonata Prima, Sonata Quinta, etc., or the abbreviated Italian forms such as Sonata 2ª [seconda] may be used.

104. Spellings in this list have been modernized so that disparate spellings such as violonchelles etc. can be grouped together. For similar reasons, capitalization has been standardized, with only the first word of the title capitalized (as is the practice in modern French title pages). The number of sonatas is the collection has been removed, as have references to alternative instruments.

Title pages for sets of continuo sonatas	
Title	**Work(s)**
Sonates a deux violoncelles	Masse Op. 1, Op. 2, Op. 5; Thomas
Sei sonate a due violoncelli	Spourny Op. 9
Sonates pour le violoncelle	Giraud, Martin (The Martin set also contains two duos.)
Sonates pour le violoncelle avec la basse continue	Barrière Livre I, II, III, IV, Baur, Canavas, Massart
Sonates pour le violoncelle et basse continue	Geminiani
Sonates a violoncelle et basse continue	Patouart
Sonates pour le violoncelle ... avec la basse chifrée	Boismortier Op. 26
Sonates ... pour le violoncelle ... avec la basse continue chiffrée	Corrette
Sonata a violoncello solo con basso continuo	Triemer
Sonata da camera a violoncello solo col basso continuo	Berteau
Sonates .. pour les violoncelles ... avec la basse	Boismortier Op. 50
Sonate a violoncello col basso	Chinzer
Sonates—violoncello solo col basso	Vivaldi
Sonate per violoncello solo e basso	Galeotti
Title pages for sets of duos	
Title	**Work(s)**
Sonate a violoncello solo	Somis
Sonates en duo pour deux violoncelles obligées	Masse Op. 3, Spourny Op. 14
Sonates en duo pour deux violoncelles	Dupuits
Sonates a deux violoncelles	Masse Op. 4, Blainville, Saggione

Table 1.5 – Title page designations for French cello sonatas and duos

less equal footing. The wording 'en duo pour deux violoncelles obligées' and 'en duo pour deux violoncelles' used for the sonatas by Masse Op. 3, Spourny Op. 14, and Dupuits Op. 17, is more explicit although far less common. Overall, the second cello parts, while more demanding than the 'continuo' cello line of the majority of the cello sonatas, do not advance beyond the skills needed for the solo line and are not considered further in this dissertation. All sonatas in the duo category are unified through the absence of figuring of the second cello part. Barrière makes this distinction clearly in Livre III. This set falls into the 'sonata' category and all sonatas are figured with the exception of Sonata IV which with the cellistic nature of the second cello

part, rich in double stopping, and the equality of the two parts in the outer movements is clearly a duo. [105]

Whether a chordal accompaniment was expected is not clear. Most keyboard players in this era were adept in improvising a chordal accompaniment even from a bass without figures, and through the same skill a keyboard player could substitute for the second cello if one were not available. The wording on the title-page of the *Gentils airs* confirms this practice: "airs connus ... ajustée [sic] en duo pour deux violoncelles[,] bassons ou violes", which 'pouront se jouer egalement sur un de ces instruments seul accompagné d'un clavecin'. [106]

The most common alternative instrumentations for the solo part in French cello sonatas are viol and bassoon, in that order, as found in the sonatas by Boismortier (Op. 26), Guignon, Thomas, Corrette, and Saggione. Probably the viol was preferred to the bassoon as it could play double stops (although the different tuning would require some to be revoiced), and could execute some of the bow strokes required. The string-crossing figures in the cello sonatas, however, are expressly written for an instrument tuned in fifths. Two collections reverse the order of the two alternative instruments, describing themselves as suitable for the cello, bassoon or viol: the anonymous *Gentils airs* and Boismortier's Op. 50. Masse's Op. 4, the only one of his five sets of cello sonatas that allows for alternative instrumentation, makes no reference to the viol; it is marketed for the cello or bassoon. However, his set of *Menuets nouveaux* (1736) for two cellos is described as also suitable for "two equal instruments, such as two bassoons, two viols or two violins". [107] This is the only set that makes reference to the violin. [108]

105. For the slow movement, Barrière reverts a melodic solo cello above a regular harmonic bass line. By so doing he enhances the contrast already between sonata and duo styles sonata vis à vis sonata. Occasionally the duo style can influence writing for the continuo cello. In Spourny's Op. 9 sonatas, the bass plays a very active and at times melodic role, similar to the second cello part in a duo. However, the occasional presence of a part for the continuo cello, independent of the bass (then taken by the harpsichord only), indicates that these are standard continuo sonatas; this is confirmed by the figuring of the bass part.

106. Three publications, the anonymous *Gentils airs,* and the collections of minuets by Masse and Cupis, are the very few French works for cello that fall outside sonata or duo categories. These works mostly basic in technique and while possibly adding to the repertoire available for amateur players, make no contribution the development of the cello.

107. "Menuets nouveaux pour deux violonchelles ... Ces menuets peuvent sexecuter [sic] sur deux Instrumentes égaux come deux Bassons, deux Violles et deux Violons."

108. Specifying the violin as the alternative instrument for cello sonatas was to become the norm after 1760. By then, the viol and bassoon were no longer suitable alternative instruments: the viol had passed out of favour, and the expansion of the cello's upper register, and the placement of much of the later eighteenth-century solo music in that upper tessitura, meant that cello sonatas were no longer playable on the bassoon. However, the rising tessitura of later cello sonatas, combined with the avoidance of the C-string, meant that they could easily be transferred to the violin when transposed an octave higher. This is not the case with the

Figure 1.2 – Title page to Boismortier's Op. 26, sonatas, showing the specific reference to L'abbé and to the cello.

In the case of the Boismortier's sonatas, Op. 26, the alternative instruments are clearly an afterthought. [109] Several movements in the set Sonata III *Adagio;* Sonata V *Adagio*) require double stopping, and other sonatas are rich in cellistic devices such as *batterie* bowings. Although the title page describes the collection as "Sonates pour le Violoncelle, Viol, ou Baßon ... Suivies d'un Concerto pour l'un ou l'autre de ces Instrumens", implying possibly that the instruments could be equal alternatives, a reference to L'abbé and the cello on the title page indicates that this is the intended instrument: "Comme je ne joue pas assez bien du Violoncelle pour juger moi-meme de ces Pieces: j'ay prié Mr. Labbé, que l'on connoit célebre pour cet Instrument, de les examiner. C'est par son approbation que je me suis determiné à les donner au public, de qui je souhaite le meme avantage" (Figure 1.2). [110]

It may be noted *en passant* that some bassoon sonatas, such as those of Jean-Daniel Braun, list the cello as an alternative instrument *(Sixieme Oeuvre*

lower-tessitura sonatas composed before 1760, which make too frequent use of the cello's C-string to be easily adapted to the violin.

109. However, Ronald N. Bukoff, 'Boismortier, Corrette, and Le Phénix: music for the French Baroque bassoon', *The Journal of the International Double Reed Society* 13 (1985), 48–56, erroneously assumes that any published set of French sonatas from this period mentioning the bassoon on the title page may be considered *bona fide* bassoon works.

110. "As I do not play the cello well enough to judge these pieces for myself, I have asked Mr. L'abbé, who is well-known on this instrument, to examine them. It is with his approval that I have decided to place them before the public, who will, I hope, approve them also."

de Mr. Braun Contenant Six Sonates Pour Deux Bassons ou II Basses). But just as the cello sonatas should not be considered as music for bassoon, so sonatas expressly for the bassoon are not cello sonatas, having no features idiomatic to that instrument, and are not included in this study. Nonetheless, the few bassoon sonatas listed in the catalogues of the Leclerc brothers and Boivin do not have their own category, but instead appear in the category 'Sonates pour le violoncelle' (See Section 1.6 above).

Some title-pages of the cello repertoire are of interest for quite another reason: a less than complete description of the contents when works other sonatas are included within the opus number. Invariably the intruder is an ensemble sonata and usually is the last item in a set.[111] In this way it is related to the set of variations (or chaconne) so often substituted for the final sonata in many collections.[112] The ensemble sonata was variously scored either for two cellos and continuo (Berteau, Op. 1, Sonata VI), or for violin, cello and continuo (Barrière, Livre III, Sonata II, and Boismortier, Op. 50, Sonata VI). In addition, one duo for violin and cello (without continuo), is included as the last piece in Martin's Op. 2 set of cello sonatas.[113] Much more unusual is the inclusion of a concerto within a set of cello sonatas. The one, for example, included in lieu of the sixth (and last) sonata of Boismortier's Op. 26 is a standard three-movement concerto for solo cello, accompanied by two violins and continuo.[114]

*

By the mid 1730s, the cello had found a place in all of the principal French musical institutions—the Opéra and the other theatres, the newly-formed Concert Spirituel, the salons and even the church. It also held a role in court-based ensembles such as the *Vingt-quatre violons,* although these had lost their former significance. While the Opéra and other theatres provided regular employment for cellists, it was the Concert Spirituel and the salons which fostered the cello as a solo instrument in terms of both performers and compositions. Thanks to the newly-applied engraving technique, more rapidly-printed music helped to disseminate solo repertoire for the cello both in Paris and in the French provinces; the catalogues of Parisian music

111. The exception is the trio sonata in Barrière's Livre III, which occupies the place of Sonata II rather than the final sonata.

112. This substitution was a long continued Italian tradition in sets of both solo and trio sonatas. For example: Corelli, Sonatas for solo violin Op 5, No. 12, 1700; Antonio Vivaldi, 12 sonatas for two violins and basso continuo Op. 1 , No. 12, 1705.

113. It is possible that there may be other duos involving the cello in a melodic role, included in French violin sonatas; this remains an avenue for further investigation.

114. This work and Corrette's stand-alone concerto for four cellos (solo cello, with three accompanying cellos and continuo) are the only cello concertos by French composers of the period.

publishers are now a key source in our understanding of the cello's rise in popularity.

Chapter 2

Performers and Composers

The cellists active in France in the first half of the eighteenth century fall into four broad categories, and these form the basis for the following discussion. First, there are the early virtuosi: nearly every contemporaneous source agrees these were seminal figures in introducing the cello into France, and popularizing it as a solo instrument, although they did not compose music for the cello themselves. [1] Second, there are those French cellists of the next generation, who, by and large, did add to the growing number of sonatas for their instrument. [2] Third, some French composers who were not cellists themselves still made contributions to the early French cello repertoire. Fourth, discussion turns to the foreign cellists, and composers for the cello, who, either through their performances or through publication of their sonatas, were influential in Paris.

2.1 The Early Cello Virtuosi

The most prominent of the early cellists in France, at least from the surviving source documents, is Jean-Baptiste Stück (1680–1755), known as Baptistin. He was an Italian of German descent who made his home and career in Paris. He was not necessarily the first Italian cellist to play in France, but he was the first to make a lasting impression. In that sense, he was the first in a long line of Italians to have a profound and lasting influence on French cello playing. Numerous French writers attest to Stück's renown as a cellist. Ancelet, writing of the cello in his *Observations sur la musique* in 1757, recalls that "Baptistin est le premier en France qui l'ait fait admirer." [3]

1. These sources include Ancelet, Maisonelle, Corrette and Fétis.

2. Some may not be 'next generation' in terms of dates, but were not regarded as seminal in the way Stück and L'abbé *l'aîné,* in particular, were. These 'later' cellists were active in producing solo cello music largely in the 1730s and 1740s.

3. Ancelet, p. 24.

Corrette also speaks of "l'heureuse arrivée du Violoncelle a Paris par M^rs^ Batistin Struck [sic], et l'Abbé tous les deux Virtuos." [4] Fétis also mentions these two musicians, remarking they were the first to play the cello at the Opéra. [5] Yet by 1758, Stück's playing was so far in the past as to make assessment difficult; as Maisonelle notes, "Nous avons eu Baptistin, qui le premier s'est fait admirer: le tems de sa gloire est cependant trop éloigné, pour qu'il soit possible d'en faire une exacte analyse." [6]

There is some confusion about Stück's place of his birth. He described himself 'Florentin', but according to Sadie and Kernfeld, François Lesure has him born in Livorno. [7] Little is known of Stück's early career. He may have been employed by the Countess of Lemos, as he is termed 'virtuoso della Contessa di Lemos' in the libretto of *Rodrigo in Algeri* (Naples, 1702). [8] Whatever his activities in Italy, Stück had arrived in Paris by 1705, where he entered the service of Philippe, Duke of Orléans as an *ordinaire*. [9] Possibly Stück's Italian background carried weight with the Italophile Duke. In the same year that he arrived in Paris, Stück also had one of his arias published in one of Ballard's *Recueils d'airs sérieux*. [10] It is believed that some years after his arrival in Paris, Stück left France briefly, spending time in the service of Elector Max Emanuel of Bavaria, around 1714. [11] He was back in Paris by 1715, the year he married Bonne-Françoise Berain, the daughter of Jean Berain who designed costumes and sets for the Académie Royale de Musique. [12] Stück was naturalized as a French citizen in 1733, taking the name Monsieur Baptiste. [13]

As well as serving the Duke of Orléans, Stück was also under the patronage of another Italophile, the Prince de Carignan, in whose house he lodged until Carignan's death in 1740. Stück's situation is not surprising given the cello's strong Italian associations and Stück's own Italian background. Contemporary sources and pension details also show that Stück played at the

4. "The fortunate arrival of the cello in Paris in the hands of Batistin Struck [sic] and l'Abbé, both of them virtuosi". Corrette, *Méthode*, p. A.

5. Fétis, cited in Jérôme de La Gorce, 'L'Orchestre de l'Opéra', p. 27.

6. "We have had Baptistin, who was the first to make it [the cello] admired. His heyday is, however, too distant for us to make a proper appraisal of his acheivement." Maisonelle, *Réponse aux Observations sur la musique, les musiciens et les instrumens* (Avignon [i.e. Paris], 1758), p. 23.

7. Barry Kernfeld and Julie Anne Sadie, 'Stuck, Jean-Baptiste' in *GMO* [accessed 17 January 2011]

8. ibid.

9. Jérôme de La Gorce, 'Stuck dit Baptistin, Jean-Baptiste' in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France*, ed. by Marcelle Benoit, p. 651.

10. ibid.

11. ibid.

12. Jérôme de La Gorce, 'Berain, Jean', in *GMO* [accessed 17 January 2011]

13. Sylvette Milliot, 'Jean-Baptiste Stück', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, 9 (1969), 91–98 (p. 93).

Opéra, but his years of service remain unclear. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Stück's name, together with that of L'abbé, appears on a continuo part of François Rebel's *Pastorale héroïque* (1730).[14] However, La Gorce evidence of him having played at the Opéra in other years is lacking. On 15 December 1718 Stück was awarded a pension as *ordinaire de la musique du Roi*.[15] Adding further confusion to the question of when exactly Stück joined the Opéra, van der Straeten claims that Stück was appointed "first violoncellist in the orchestra of the grand opera" in 1709, although he concedes that Torino puts the date at 1727.[16]

Stück was a noted composer as well as a cellist, and he seems to have devoted as much of his energy to composition, primarily of cantatas and operas, as he did to the cello. Indeed, among the French cellists from before 1760, he is one of the few who also composed in large-scale vocal forms. Although he did not compose any (extant) cello sonatas, it is to him that we owe one of the earliest melodic lines, as opposed to bass parts, for the cello to be published in France. This is an obbligato line in an Italian cantata included in his Livre IV of French cantatas, published by Ballard in 1714. Example 2.1 quotes it in full.

Like much of the effective solo cello writing which would follow over the next two centuries and beyond, this obbligato is a cantabile tenor melody, placed entirely on the A-string. In it, we hear, perhaps for the first time in France, the unique singing qualities of the cello's upper-middle register being explored.

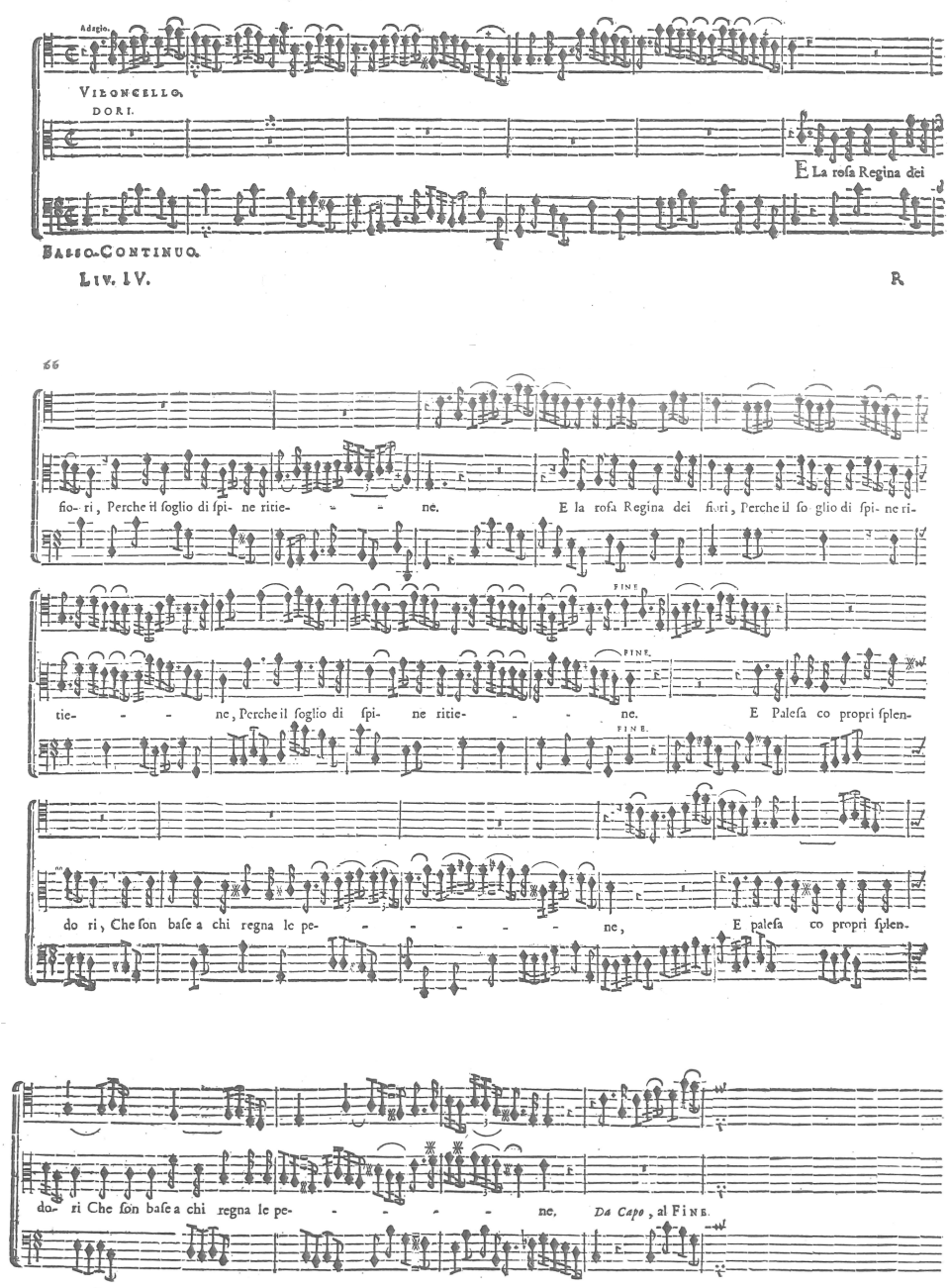
It is surprising that the cello does not appear in any of his other cantatas. Rather, the bass viol is called for as an obbligato instrument in three cantatas: *Sur la prise de Lerida* (in Livre 2, 1708), *Diane* and *Psiché* (both in Livre 4, 1714).[17] Possibly this is because the viol was still seen as the ideal instrument for French chamber music, while the cello was suitable for Italian music. Or again, it may simply reflect the paucity of cellists in the early years of the century.

14. La Gorce, 'L'Orchestre de l'Opéra et son évolution de Campra à Rameau', *Revue de musicologie*, 76 (1990), 23–43 (p. 27, n. 8).

15. "Le Roy, bien informé qu'il ne peut mieux soutenir l'académie Royale de musique dans sa splendeur qu'en gratifiant de ses bienfaits les sujets propres a y contribuer, Sa Majesté ... accorde au S. Jean Baptiste Stuk [sic] la somme de cinq cent livres de pension annuelle, en consideration de l'employ qu'il fera des talens qu'il a pour la musique du theatre en faveur de lad. Academie, veut et ordonne qu'a commancer du premier Janvier prochain, il en soit payé de quartier en quartier, sur le produit des representations de l'opera et du bal public que Sa Majesté a permis d'y donner, tant et si longuement qu'il demeurera dans le Royaume." Cited in Marcelle Benoit, *Musiques de Cour, Chapelle, Chambre, Écurie: Recueil de Documents 1661–1766* (Paris: Picard, 1971), p. 294.

16. van der Straeten, p. 157.

17. Violins are common as treble instruments in the French cantatas, and a cello could possibly have been used to play the continuo line.



Example 2.1 – Jean-Baptiste Stück, 'E la rosa Regina' from the *Cantate Italienne,* Livre IV (1714).

In spite of Stück's reputation as a cellist, which persisted through the eighteenth century, there are no records of any individual solo performances by him, nor evidence of what repertoire he might have played. As a large part of his career preceded the publication of the first French cello sonatas in 1729, he cannot have built his repertoire on cello music available in print. [18] At least at first, he possibly performed works that he had brought with him from Italy; he may also have composed some solos for the cello which were never published and are lost. [19] It is equally possible that he performed violin music, transposed an octave lower, perhaps using a five-string cello. [20]

A related issue is the question of where Stück performed. Stück only played twice (on consecutive days) at the *Concert Spirituel*, on 24 and 25 December 1728. This was not a solo performance, but an unspecified trio with the flautist Michel Blavet and the violinist Jean-Pierre Guignon. [21] It is most likely that Stück's other performances were in the salons or other similar venues for which there are no surviving programmes or other records. Since Corrette refers to him as a "Virtuos" he was obviously known as a soloist in Parisian musical life. [22]

An inventory of Stuck's possessions was made after the death of his wife in 1741. [23] At this time, he possessed two cellos, each with its own bow, as well as a *basse de violon* and four violins. The *basse de violon* was valued at 20 livres, one of the cellos at 15 livres, and the other cello together with the four violins at 28 livres. Intriguingly, Sylvette Milliot points out that these were not valuable instruments, since a cello by the French luthiers such as Boquay, Henry or Castagnery sold for around 20–40 livres. [24] It also remains unclear whether Stück used French instruments or Italian ones he had brought with him.

Stück probably did not perform as a soloist in the later years of his life, since Maisonelle, writing only three years after Stück's death in 1755, says that his heyday ("le tems de sa gloire") was too far in the past, which suggests

18. This was not normal practice, in any case. In this period, much music circulated in manuscript, nowhere more than in Italy, and virtuosos often kept music scores to themselves.

19. The lack of French cello sonatas from this period is an anomaly, even for France where much more music existed in printed form than in Italy or Germany.

20. See Chapter 3 for discussion of five-string cellos.

21. *Mercure de France,* December 1728, p. 2726. This is the earliest occasion on which the cello appears (other than in the orchestra) at the *Concert Spirituel*.

22. Corrette, *Méthode,* p. A.

23. "Un violon de chelle avec son archet dans un etuy de bois peint, un autre violon de chelle également avec son archet". Min. Centr. LXII, 386, 11 December 1741. Cited in Milliot, 'Jean-Baptiste Stück', pp. 94–95.

24. Milliot, 'Jean-Baptiste Stück', *La Vie musicale en France sous les rois Bourbons,* 9 (1969), 91–98.

that some of his last solo performances were around 1730. [25] It is possible that he decided to focus instead on composition in the latter part of his career.

*

Pierre-Philippe Saint-Sévin, known usually as L'abbé *l'aîné,* was not a native of Paris, although, unlike Stück, he was French. [26] In fact, L'abbé *l'aîné* may be considered the first Frenchman to achieve prominence as a cellist. He was born around 1700 in Agen, Aquitaine, a cathedral town mid-way between Toulouse and Bordeaux. He was employed as *maître de musique* at the church of St. Caprais in Agen, and took minor orders (as did his younger brother, also a cellist), hence the name L'abbé. [27] He is one of a surprising number of French cellists who received their musical education in the church *maîtrises*. Like many provincial musicians, L'abbé *l'aîné* was drawn to Paris. Zaslaw has him reaching Paris by 1722 where he played the cello and composed incidental music for plays at the Fair Theatres, including *L'âne d'or* (Piron) and *Les amours déguisés*. [28] By 1729 or 1730 he had joined the Opéra orchestra, and "was soon promoted to first desk where he remained until pensioned in 1767." [29] L'abbé *l'aîné* also played in the orchestra of the *Concert Spirituel* from the 1740s until 1762, and the *Musique de la chambre* at the court, from 1753 until his death in 1768.

His career spanned the entire period under study and he was active as a cellist in Paris precisely at the time when the early French cello sonatas were composed and published. It is somewhat surprising, then, that L'abbé *l'aîné* has left neither compositions for solo cello, and neither do we have any documentation of solo performances. As is with Stück, we can only identify one occasion where he played in a non-orchestral capacity—as a member of a quartet that performed Telemann's 'Paris' quartets at the *Concert Spirituel* during four concerts in June 1745. [30]

The career of L'abbé *l'aîné* raises a question that recurs in the biography of each French cellist who came from the provinces. How did a musician

25. Maisonelle, p. 23

26. The appendage *l'aîné* is used to distinguish him from his brother, L'abbé *le cadet,* also a cellist, who is discussed below, and from his son, L'abbé *le fils,* the celebrated violinist who played frequently at the *Concert Spirituel* in the mid eighteenth century.

27. St. Caprais is now the Cathedral of Agen; the original cathedral, St. Étienne, was destroyed during the Revolution. See Goyau, Georges, 'The Diocese of Agen', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols (New York: Appleton, 1907–1912), I (1907) <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01209b.htm> [accessed 19 January 2011]

28. Neal Zaslaw, 'L'abbé' in *GMO* [accessed 19 January 2011]. Unfortunately, this music has not survived.

29. ibid.

30. The other performers were the flautist Michel Blavet, the viol player Jean-Baptiste Forqueray, and the violinist Giovanni Battista Marella. *Mercure de France,* June 1745 I, p. 133.

growing up in Agen in Aquitaine, come to play the cello, a new and fashionable instrument, let alone become one of the leading cellists in Paris? In either case, it seems most likely that this church education prepared him for his career as a cellist and, to a limited extent, as a composer. There is a link here with another great cellist from this period, Jean Barrière. The diocese of Agen, where L'abbé *l'aîné* was educated, was at this time suffragan to the archdiocese of Bordeaux. Jean Barrière, seven years younger than L'abbé *l'aîné,* was in Bordeaux at the time, and it is possible that the two cellists may have met or even influenced each other. Subsequently, their prior contact with each other may have enabled one or the other to move to Paris.

Pierre Saint-Sévin, known as L'abbé *le cadet,* the younger brother of Pierre-Philippe, also was a cellist. He was born around 1710 in Agen, and like his brother, took minor orders at St. Caprais. It is unclear whether he went to Paris with his brother (he would have been only 12 years old) or arrived later. However, in 1727 he joined the orchestra of the Opéra, where he played in the *petit chœur* until 1767, and then led the *grand chœur* until 1776. Zaslaw attests that he played at the Sainte-Chapelle from 1764 until 1777.[31]

*

A third noted player of the bowed-bass instruments, including the *basse de violon* and the viola da gamba was active in Paris in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This was Theobaldo di Gatti (c.1650–1727), known in France as Théobalde. He was not a cellist in the sense that the term *violoncelle* is not associated with his name. However, he was celebrated as a soloist on the five-string *basse de violon*. As his name suggests, he was Italian by birth. Like Stück, he moved to France at an early age, spent the rest of his life there, becoming a naturalized French citizen. According to Titon du Tillet, "Lully lui en sçut très-bon gré, & le reçut avec beaucoup d'amitié; il le plaça dans l'Orchestre de l'Opera, ayant connu sa capacité pour l'execution de la Musique sur la Basse de Violon".[32] Théobalde was born in Florence, and, attracted by the music of Lully, travelled to Paris to meet him.[33] Théobalde composed two operas (*Coronis,* 1691, and *Scylla,* 1701), as well as a *Recueil d'airs italiens* and solo songs and duets.[34] According to La Gorce, he was

31. Zaslaw, 'L'abbé'.

32. "Lully held him in a very high opinion, and received him warmly; he placed him in the Opera Orchestra, since he knew his capacity as a performer on the *basse de violon*". Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse françois* (Paris: 1732; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), p. 621.

33. Caroline Wood, 'Gatti, Theobaldo di' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera,* ed. by Stanley Sadie. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O006804> [accessed 19 January 2011]

34. ibid.

equally distinguished as a player of the viola da gamba as of the *basse de violon.* [35]

The passage describing Théobalde's playing of the *basse de violon à cinq cordes* comes from Bonnet and Bourdelot's *Histoire de la musique*. [36] The instrument is not the focus of the discussion; neither is Théobalde's playing. Rather, the passage is a mock discussion between several nobles, illustrating the distinctions between and debates about the French and Italian styles. Théobalde is simply cited as an example. The passage is cited here in full:

> Voilà un Opera bien court, dit la Comptesse quand *Tancrède* fut fini ; & voilà déja bien le louer, dit le Chevalier, vous n'en diriez pas autant des Opera d'Italie qui durent toûjours cinq ou six heures, & qui vous paroîtroient bien en durer huit ou neuf. *Tancrède* mérite encore d'autres louanges, ajouta Mr du B . . . il me semble qu'il y a de beaux airs, de belles symphonies, & des chants bien détour . . . Achevez hardiment, Monsieur le Compte, vous vouliez dire qu'il y a des chants bien détournez, & vous avez raison. Mais il y en a aussi d'heureux & de naturels & de cette maniére Mr l'Abé R. & moi, nous louerons également *Campra*. Mais la foule s'est écoulée & nous pouvons nous en aller, continua le Ch. en presentant la main à la Comtesse. Vous viendrez souper avec nous Chevalier, dit le Compte, pour continuer l'examen du Parallele. Nous sommes tout seuls Madame & moi, nous aurons la liberté & le tems de nous entretenir à notre aise : & je te promets que nous ne te ferons point mauvaise chère, car nous ne te donnerons ni daubes, ni pitrepite. Le Ch. remit donc sa belle cousine à son carosse, & s'y mit sans façon avec eux.
>
> Je songe à une chose, lui dit-elle, pendant le chemin. Vous êtes tontôt demeuré assez d'accord que les Italiens méprisent notre Musique, & vous ne nous en étonnez pas. Si nous en faisions communément autant de la leur, nous ferions but à but. Mais, Mr. le Chevalier, ce qui m'inquiéte, c'est que la plus grande partie de nos François, je croi, pour l'amour de vous, que ce n'est pas la plus sensée ; mais enfin une grande partie de la France aime & admire la Musique des italiens. Pourquoi ne faisons-nous pas de la leur le peu de cas qu'ils font de la nôtre ? En vérité cela me paroît fort contre vous, & vous ne pouvez pas nier que ce ne soit une espèce de desavantage & de deshonneur. Madame, répondit

35. Jérôme de La Gorce, 'Théobalde, Theobaldo de Gatti,' in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France* ed. by Benoit, p. 676.

36. Pierre Bourdelot, Pierre Bonnet and Jacques Bonnet, *Histoire de la musique et de ses effets depuis son origine jusqu'à présent,* II, (Amsterdam, 1725), pp. 50–52

> le Chevalier, l'ojection est délicate & spirituelle. Vous avez l'art... Oh, ne la flatte point, interrompit le Mari, & lui répons... J'y vais tout à l'heure, mon cher. Premiérement il n'est pas si absolument vrai que tous les Italiens méprisent notre composition. Lorsque le fameux *Luigi* vint en France, il fut charmé des chansons de *Boisset*, & il est public que les Opera de Lulli ont attiré à Paris plusieurs admirateurs qu'ils s'étoient faits au fond de l'Italie, desquels même quelques-uns sont demeurez parmi nous. Je suis trompé si ce *Théobalde* qui jouë à l'Orchestre de Paris de la basse de violon à cinq cordes, & qui a fait *Scilla*, Opera estimé pour ses belles symphonies, n'en est pas un. Voilà le deshonneur de notre Musique en partie effacé. Quant au goût & à l'admiration de la plupart des François pour la Musique Italienne. Cette Musique nous est nouvelle, Madame, en faut-il davantage pour y faire courir tous les François ? [37]

37. 'That is a short opera', said the Countess when *Tancrède* had finished. 'And that's already a reason to commend it', said the Chevalier. 'You would not say that about those Italian operas which last for five or six hours, and seem to go on for eight or nine.' Tancrède deserves yet more praise, added Mr. du B ... 'It seems to me that there are some beautiful arias, beautiful instrumental interludes, and some well-turned son... Conclude boldly, sir, you were going to say that there are some well-turned songs, and you are right. But there are also joyful and natural ones, and for this, the Abbé R and I would praise Campra just as much.' 'But the crowd has dispersed and we had better get going', continued the Chevalier, giving his hand to the Countess. 'You should come have supper with us', said the Count, and we can continue our discussion of the Paralèle [des italiens et des françois en ce qui regarde la musique et les opera, by François Raguenet, 1702].' Madame and I are alone, and we will have the freedom and the time to converse as we wish, and I promise you that we won't give you bad food, for we won't give you either stew nor *pitrepite* [a strong liqueur, made with spirits of wine]. The Chevalier then returned his beautiful cousin to her coach, and sat down casually with them.

'I dream of one thing', she told him, along the way. 'You were pretty much in agreement just now that the Italians despise our music, and you are not surprised. If we think the same thing of their music, we will be all square. But, sir, what worries me, is that the majority of Frenchmen (I think for your sake that it's not the most sensible majority), a large percentage of France, loves and admires the music of the Italians. Why don't we disparage theirs the way they disparage ours? This seems to count against your argument, and you cannot deny that this is a kind of disadvantage and dishonour.' 'Madame', replied the knight, 'The objection is delicate and witty'. You have the ability ...' 'Oh, don't flatter her, interrupted her husband, and answer her'. 'I'm going to, my friend. First it is not so absolutely true that all the Italians despise our compositions. When the famous Luigi came to France, he was charmed by the songs of Boisset, and it is public knowledge that Lully's operas attracted to Paris several admirers that they had gained in Italy, some of whom have remained among us. Unless I'm mistaken, Théobalde who plays the five-string bass violin in the Paris orchestra, and who wrote *Scilla*, an opera admired for its beautiful orchestral music, is one of these immigrants. There you go—that partially erases the dishonour of our music. As for the taste and admiration of most Frenchmen for Italian music, well Madame, this music is new to us. Is that is not enough to make all Frenchmen go for it?'

Obviously, Théobalde was well-enough known to opera-going audiences, particularly as a player specifically of the *basse de violon à cinq cordes,* to be included in a text that does not attempt to treat music or instruments in a specialist or technical manner. Such a mention suggests that he played the instrument quite often in some sort of solo context, within the Opéra orchestra. This may have included obbligatos, or, equally, 'effects' passages in scenes such as storm scenes, or in continuo playing to accompany recitative.

It seems unlikely, despite this fame, that Théobalde made a direct contribution to the solo sonata repertoire for cello. There are no other records of his solo performances, nor any extant sonatas by him for the cello, or for that matter for any other instrument. However, with his prominent role in the Opéra orchestra, he undoubtedly raised the profile of the *basse de violon,* both with audiences and among his colleagues in the orchestra.[38] Théobalde, as a player of the *basse de violon* and the viola da gamba, was a multi-instrumentalist at a transitional stage when the former was beginning to take over the functions of the latter, and when multi-instrumentalism was being gradually replaced by specialization in one instrument.

2.2 French Cellist-Composers

The *Basse* Players of the Paris Opéra

Jean Barrière (1707–1747)

Jean Barrière was born in Bordeaux on 2 May 1707.[39] The son of a cobbler,[40] he was the fourth of five children, and the only one to become a musician, or to make his home in Paris. Of the other four, Pierre became a glazier, while François entered the priesthood, eventually becoming "prêtre

38. In a review of a facsimile edition of Jacquet de La Guerre's trio sonatas (ed. by Catherine Cessac), Greer Garden notes that "It is unclear exactly what instrument is intended by the 'violoncello obbligato' mentioned in several movement titles, especially since Brossard labelled the separate bass part 'viola da gamba', and included the designation 'Récit de violle' in the continuo part of the Sonata in B♭ major. On the one hand, in his *Dictionnaire* (1703) Brossard defines 'violoncello' as 'our Quinte de violon, or petite Basse de Violon, with five or six strings'. On the other hand, as Cessac reminds readers in her introduction to this facsimile, the modern cello was not yet in use in France when Jacquet de La Guerre composed her trio sonatas. She suggests Brossard may have decided to add its name to the parts only when he was cataloguing his manuscripts in 1724–5." Greer Garden, 'Singing Jacquet de La Guerre', *Early Music* 35 (2007) 35, 466–467. It is possible that the 'violoncello' was in fact Théobalde's five-string *basse de violon*. He may have played the part on a viol at some point, or may have been considered a viol player in general, hence the viol designation on the parts.

39. c.f. Registre de baptême for the church of St. André. Arch. Nat. Min. Centr. CV, 1226; dépôt de pièces; 9 December 1747. Cited in Milliot, *Le Violoncelle,* p. 117. Roger Cotte, 'Barrière, Jean', in *MGG,* II, p. 294, gives a birth date of "um 1705", an estimated date calculated from the death certificate, which states that Barrière died "agé de quarante deux ans, ou environ".

40. Milliot, *Le Violoncelle,* p. 117

prebandier de l'église Saint André de Bordeaux".[41] The two daughters spent their lives in the family home.[42]

It remains unclear how Barrière came to learn the cello in Bordeaux. Most likely, considering that the family probably had close connections with the church he was educated in a *maîtrise*. At the time Bordeaux boasted three *maîtrises:* at the cathedral of St. André, and the churches of St. Michel and St. Seurin.[43] The *maîtrise* of St. André, which dated back to 1463, included eight boy singers at the time of Barrière's youth, and funds were also provided for musicians, choristers, and *maître, sous-maître* and *chanoines.* Lay singers were also used. Nevertheless, the *maîtrise* at St. André was in a period of decline and unable to compete with the great cathedrals of Toulouse, Chartres and Paris in grandeur. In contrast, the *maîtrises* of St. Michel and St. Seurin were gaining in prestige to the extent that St. Seurin came to rival the cathedral. It had six boy choristers in the early eighteenth century, and the masters included Valette de Montigny, and Antoine Fel, the brother of the celebrated singer Marie Fel.[44]

Where Barrière spent the early part of his career also remains unknown. Most likely he played in Bordeaux, since there are no records of him being in Paris until the 1730s. When and how he was drawn to the capital city remains a mystery. Van der Straeten conjectures that while in Paris, he may have studied with one of the brothers L'abbé.[45] However, by the 1731 he was a member of the *grand chœur*.[46] His employment at the Opéra is confirmed by the title pages of his Livre I and II cello sonatas (1733), which describe him as *Ordinaire de l'Académie Royale de Musique*.[47]

Barrière took leave from the Opéra in the second half of the 1730s; according to Fétis this was to study in Italy with the cellist Franciscello (Francesco Alborea, 1691–1739). However, the facts of this trip are open to question. Fétis places the trip between 1736 and 1739, while Amelot has between 1737

41. ibid.

42. ibid.

43. The information here is drawn from Martail Leroux, 'Bordeaux (maîtrises de)', in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France,* ed. by Benoit, p. 81. For a general overview of the *maîtrises,* see Norbert Dufourcq, 'maîtrise', in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France,* ed. by Benoit, pp. 431–32, and Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: Norton, 2003), pp. 598–599.

44. It seems a number of Bordelais musicians, of whom Marie Fel was the most celebrated, became highly successful in Paris. The cellists in this group include Barrière and Patouart. Giraud was also *maître de musique* at St. Seurin in Bordeaux, as stated on the title page of his cello sonatas; there is no evidence, however, that he was born or educated in Bordeaux.

45. van der Straeten, p. 261.

46. La Gorce, 'L'Orchestre de l'Opéra', p. 39.

47. For bibliographic details of these works and those of all subsequent cellists, see Chapter 4.

and 1741.[48] In either case, Barrière could not have studied with Franciscello in Italy, as Franciscello had been in Vienna since 1726.[49] It is, of course, possible that Barrière met Franciscello in Vienna, or that Barrière studied with another cellist, possibly less famous, in Italy.

Neither Amelot nor Fétis are entirely accurate as to dating, since Barrière was definitely in Paris for part of 1738, when he performed at two concerts at the *Concert Spirituel*, on 15 August and 8 September.[50] It is almost certain that he was also in Paris in 1739, as in November the publication of his Livre III of six cello sonatas was announced in the *Mercure de France*.[51] Little is known of his performance activities after this date. Barrière ceased to play at the Opéra altogether,[52] and (at least according to the surviving programmes) he did not appear again at the *Concert Spirituel*. Neither is he known to have been associated with any of the other orchestras (church, private or theatre, discussed above). If he did continue to perform (and his inclusion in Ancelet's and Maisonelle's lists of esteemed cellists, compiled in 1757, would seem to indicate this), it was primarily in the salons—venues that may have given him more scope to display his solo technique than orchestral playing.[53]

Barrière's teaching activities are also unclear. Surprisingly for a cellist whose compositions more overtly virtuosic than those of his contemporaries, Barrière was apparently not fêted as a teacher, at least not in the same way as Martin Berteau, whose pupils advertised themselves as being taught by the "célèbre Berteau" on the title pages of their treatises. Possibly Barrière's early death prevented an accumulation of pupils.

Barrière may have taught the cello to the Compte de Guergorlay, Seigneur de Grousily, to whom he dedicated his Livre I of 1733.

> Monsieur, En vous offrant cet ouvrage je ne pretend pas satisfaire seulement a la Coutume de le parer de quelque nom illustre mais encore au penchant secret de vous prouver mon attachement et ma reconnoissance. L'honneur que j'ay de cultiver vos heureusses dispositions pour l'instrument a l'usage du quel je l'ay composé, et l'Eloge que vous en avez fai lorsque jelay [je l'ai] executé

48. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens* (Paris, 1860), and Amelot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'Académie royale de musique* (F-Po, Rés. 516), both cited in Milliot, *Le Violoncelle*, 1, pp. 118–119.

49. Mary Cyr, 'Alborea, Francesco', in *GMO* [accessed 31 January 2011]

50. *Mercure de France*, August 1738, p. 1863 and September 1738, p. 279.

51. The exact process of having music engraved remains unclear. It is possible, though somewhat unlikely, that Barrière arranged the engraving when he returned to Paris in 1738, and that the sellers (V^{ve} Boivin and J.-P. Leclerc) placed the advertisement when the prints were ready, thus obviating the need for Barrière to return to Paris.

52. That is to say, La Gorce has not found his name on any source documents after 1737.

53. Ancelet, p. 25 lists Stück, Edouard, Barrière, Patouart, L'abbé, Martin, Chrétien and Berteau; Maisonelle, pp. 23–26, adds to this list Giraud, Deucalion, Pyrrha, le Breton, Saublay and Davesne, as well as the foreigners Lanzetti, Canavas, Feray [Ferrari?], and Graziani.

> devant vous, me font esperer que vous aprouveriez que je le misse sous vôtre protection. Quand je n'oserois me promettre qu'il fut du goust du publique du moins serois je certain que je ne pourois trouver une occasion plus favorable de vous Exprimer avec combien de respect jay h'honneur d'Estre, Monsieur.
>
> Votre tres humble et tres obeïssant Serviteur, Barrière [54]

He may have had other students among the Parisian aristocracy. Livre II is dedicated to a M^{me} Jourdain (a very common French name). The dedicatory address hints at her acquaintance with Barrière's earlier works, but it does not offer any proof that she was a student of his, or even a cellist.

> L'approbation, dont vous avez honoré mes premiers ouvrages, m'engage aujourd'huy a vous dedier celuy ci, si je suis assez heureux, Madame, qu'il soit de vôtre goût, je me flate, qu'il sera bientôt de celuy du public, connoissant vôtre esprite, vôtre discernement, et vôtre penetration, non seulement dans la musique, mais encore dans les sciences les plus sublimes : je poursuivrois, ici, Madame, l'Eloge de touttes les vertus que brillent en vous, si je suivois le mouvement de mon zéle, Et si je n'étois persuadé, que vôtre modestie retient tous ceux qui ont l'honneur de vous approcher, de l'empressement qu'ils ont de publier des loüanges qui vous sont si justement deûes, je me contente donc de les admirer avec eux, Et de faire eclaer ma vive reconnoissance, et le profond respect avec lequel jay l'honneur d'Etre, Madame,
>
> Vôtre très humble et très obeïssant serviteur, Barriere. [55]

Somewhat puzzlingly, considering Barrière would have been at the height of his fame after the publication of his first two books, Livres III and IV include

54. In offering you this work, sir, I claim not to fulfil only the custom of adorning it with some illustrious name, but still more, to fulfil my personal inclination to prove my affection and gratitude to you. The honour which I have had of cultivating your liking for the instrument for which I have composed these works, and the praise which you gave them when I played them for you, lead me to hope that you will approve of my placing them under your protection. While I dare not promise that they will be to the taste of the public, I am certain at least that I will not be able to find a more favourable opportunity to say how honoured I am to be your very humble and very obedient servant, Barrière.

55. The approval with which you honoured my first works encourages me today to dedicate these ones to you. If I am fortunate enough, Madame, that they prove to be to your taste, then I like to think they will be soon to the taste of the public, knowing your finesse, your discernment, and your deep understanding, not only of music, but also of the most sublime sciences. I would continue here, Madame, the praise of all the virtues which shine in you, if I gave way to my enthusiasm, and if I weren't persuaded that your modesty restrains all those who have the honour of approaching you, from enthusiastically publishing the praises which are rightly due to you. I am content therefore to admire your virtues as they do, and to express my intense gratitude, and the deep respect with which I have the honour to be, Madame, your very humble and very obedient servant, Barrière.

no dedicatory letters. It is possible that his reputation was sufficient that he no longer felt the need for noble approbation.

Livre IV appeared sometime after 1742, since it is not in J.-P. Leclerc's catalogue for that year. But after this book, Barrière published no more cello sonatas, although in his remaining five years he continued to issue compositions: Livre V is for the *pardessus de viole,* and Sonatas I–V in Livre VI are a free arrangement for keyboard of five sonatas from Livre V. Both of these sets appeared alongside the Livre IV cello sonatas in the catalogue issued by J.-P. Leclerc in 1751. It is possible that Barrière turned away from the cello in the 1740s to focus on an instrument which had suddenly become fashionable. It is equally possible that he continued to play the cello, but decided to capitalize on the market supplying repertoire for a new instrument—which the cello itself had been at the beginning of Barrière's career. If this is the case, he certainly took his task seriously as evidenced by the fact that he owned a *pardessus de viole*, in addition to his five cellos and one violin.[56]

Barrière died in 1747, at the age of 40. In his short life he had made, through his four books of sonatas, one of the most substantial contributions to the cello repertoire of all the composers considered here. He had been involved in two of Paris's most significant musical organizations—the Opéra and the *Concert Spirituel*—and had also travelled to Italy. He also had made a substantial contribution to the repertoire the *pardessus de viole*. Barrière's works remained before the public after his death; his brother, François Barrière, was accorded a *privilège* in 1751 to continue their publication.[57] Evidently, Barrière's sonatas long continued to be used as teaching materials; in 1758, Maisonelle commented that "il a laissé de fort bonnes Sonates, sur lesquelles se forment tour les jours d'habiles gens".[58] In all, this son of a provincial cobbler had made an important contribution to the rise of the cello in France.

François Martin (c. 1727–1757)

Another composer of virtuosic cello sonatas who also played in the Opéra orchestra is François Martin. Cyr speculates that he was possibly a pupil of Berteau;[59] he is a generation later than Barrière. In addition to his set of six

56. Milliot, *Le Violoncelle,* p. 121.

57. "3 decembre 1751. P. G. pour 10 ans, du 8 novembre au 'Sr François Barrière, prestre prebendier de l'eglise de Bordeaux' pour 'des Sonates et autres ouvrages de musique instrumentale du feu Sr Jean Barrière, musicien ordinaire de l'Académie royale de musique'." Cited in Michel Brenet, 'La librairie musicale en France de 1653 à 1790, d'après les Registres de privilèges', *Sammelbände der Interationalen Musikgesellschaft,* 8 (1907), 401–466 (p. 447).

58. "He has left some very good sonatas, which talented players practise every day". Maisonelle, p. 23.

59. Mary Cyr, 'Martin, François' in *MGG,* xi, p. 1167.

cello sonatas (1746), Martin published a set of 'Six trios ou conversations' for two violins and cello, Op. 3 (c. 1750). In spite of the title, and Julie Anne Sadie's assertion that they are "remarkable for ... the prominence of the cello, which assumes a role equal to those of the two violins",[60] the cello part in this set does not carry any melodic material; nor is it as virtuosic as the more difficult sonatas from the era. Rather, it is typical of a cello part in a string quartet, although in function it goes beyond the bass of a trio sonata. In terms of technique, it uses the first four positions frequently but not rising any higher; nor is there any *bariolage,* string crossing, or extensive double stops. This is in contrast to his solo cello sonatas, some of which are among the most virtuosic French cello music from this period.[61]

François Martin was born around 1727.[62] He probably died early in 1757, as the *Mercure* of November 1757 describes him as "Le feu Martin".[63] By August 1745, the youthful Martin already must have been a fairly well-known as a cellist, since the *Mercure de France* in from that month described him as a "très excellent violoncelle".[64] Martin performed at the *Concert Spirituel* on 3 April 1747, the same date that his cantata *Laetatus sum* was first performed. This was the first performance of any of his compositions at the *Concert Spirituel,* and it is likely that he deliberately performed on the first occasion that one of his works was given in order to 'introduce' himself to the *Concert Spirituel* audience. His personality may not have been suited to virtuoso solo playing, however, as the *Mercure de France* later noted that "while Martin was gifted, he was held back by his timidity and modesty."[65] He may have turned to composition but yet he seems to have continued as a solo cellist, probably in the salons. Overall, he achieved considerable fame, as Maisonelle echoes Ancelet's praise, saying, "Martin jouoit fort bien du Violoncelle, il avoit de plus un talent décidé pour la composition, & certainement la mort l'a trop tôt enlevé."[66] In addition, Martin played in several orchestras, including that of the Duke of Gramont, to whom he was in service, and the orchestra of the Opéra between 1746 and 1748.

60. Julie Anne Sadie, 'Martin, François (ii)', in *GMO* [accessed 12 February 2011]

61. The exception is Sonata I, which is technically much simpler than the rest in the collection. Sonata VI is a duo for violin and cello; the cello part is considerably virtuosic.

62. Sadie, ibid, notes that "his date of birth is deduced from a reference in the obituary for Jean-Marie Leclair *l'aîné* in the *Mercure de France* of November 1764".

63. ibid.

64. ibid.

65. *Mercure,* May 1752, cited in Sadie, 'Martin, François (ii)' in *MGG*.

66. "Martin played the cello very well; he had, moreover, a distinct talent for composition, and death certainly took him too soon." Maisonelle, p. 23

François-Joseph Giraud (d. after 1788)

A slightly later cellist who played at the Opéra and also published a set of virtuosic sonatas was François Giraud. Mark Darlow remarks that "indications about his career are partly contradictory."[67] Giraud was a member of the Opéra from 1752 until after 1764,[68] and also played at the *Chapelle [royale]* and the *Chambre du roi*.[69] Darlow, however, states that he played in the *Concert Spirituel* Orchestra, but does not mention the *Chambre du roi*.[70] According to the title page of his six cello sonatas Op. 1 (before 1751), he was "Maître de musique de St. Surin", although his address at the foot of the page is given as "L'auteur a present Mr. de Musique a Laon".[71] Presumably St. Surin refers to St. Seurin in Bordeaux, which, together with St. Michel, was one of the large Bordelais churches rivalling the cathedral, St. André, in terms of musical splendour. Although the dates of his employment in Bordeaux remain unclear, there is a possibility that he may have been acquainted with Barrière, who seems to have begun his career in the Bordelais churches. They may even have learned from the same teacher. Laon refers to the (then) cathedral of Notre Dame in Laon, in the Picardy region in the north-east of France.[72]

In Paris, Giraud had several vocal works performed at the *Concert Spirituel*. Although he did not play alongside François Martin who had departed the Opéra four years before Giraud joined, it is likely that the two cellists at least met. On two occasions they both had works performed in the same programme at the *Concert Spirituel*. On 2 February 1752, Giraud's *motet à grand chœur, Super flumina*, was performed alongside Martin's *Laetentur coeli*. A year later, Giraud's new *motet à grand chœur, Quam dilecta* (Psalm 83), was sung with Marie Fel as soloist, again alongside Martin's *Laetentur coeli*, also sung by Fel.[73] He most probably had occasion to meet the cellist Blainville, another composer for the *Concert Spirituel*, as the latter's *Dixit Dominus* was performed on 15 August 1765, the last concert at which one of Giraud's motets was performed. And if Giraud attended the performance of

67. Mark Darlow, 'Giraud, François-Joseph' in *MGG*, VII, p. 1011.

68. According to La Gorce, 'L'Orchestre de l'Opéra', Giraud played in the *grand chœur* from 1752 until after 1764. This is contradicted by Milliot, *Le Violoncelle*, p. 137, who, citing the 'registres de l'Opéra', claims that Giraud played in the *petit chœur* from April 1752 onwards, and that in 1777, his name is next to the words "à remplacer".

69. Milliot, *Le Violoncelle*, p. 137.

70. Mark Darlow, 'Giraud, François-Joseph' in *MGG*, VII, p. 1011.

71. The title page reads " ... par Mr. Giraud / Maitre de Musique de St. Surin ... chez ... L'auteur a present Mr. de Musique a Laon."

72. The diocese of Laon was abolished in 1790, after the Revolution, and Laon was brought under the jurisdiction of Soissons. See <http://www.uquebec.ca/musique/orgues/france/laonnd.html> [accessed 15 February 2011]

73. Constant Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, pp. 262 and 264.

his motet *Deus noster* on 29 March 1755, he would have heard the 13-year-old Jean-Baptiste Janson, who would go on to become one of the leading cellists of the following generation, perform a cello sonata at the same concert.

Giraud also composed six *comédie-ballets,* and in addition to the cello sonatas, published a set of six sonatas for violin and cello (alternatively two violins), each with optional basso continuo.[74] The cello part in these violin and cello sonatas is notated mostly in the treble clef (other than for notes on the C-string, which are in the bass clef). Curiously, as it is largely an independent voice, this part sometimes doubles the optional continuo part. When not doubling the bass, it is surprisingly virtuosic, sometimes requiring thumb position; the second sonata also includes some tricky passagework.

Other Cellist-Composers at the Opéra

Antheaume played in the *basses du grand chœur* of the Opéra from 1738 to 1757, and from 1758 to after 1764 played in the *petit chœur*. A manuscript of *six concertos en trio pour un violoncelle ou basson obligé, violon et basse* is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[75] An Antheaume, presumably the same musician, had three works performed at the *Concert Spirituel*: a *petit motet* sung by Regnault on 8 September 1763; a motet for solo voice, sung by Legros on 17 April 1764 (J.-P. Duport played a cello sonata at the same concert); and the *petit motet, Cantate Domino,* sung between 15 and 24 April 1764.[76] Other than this nothing is known about him.

Pierre-Just Davesne played in the *basses du grand chœur* of the Opéra orchestra from 1750 until 1766.[77] The dates of his birth and death are unknown. Cyr has him active in Paris between c. 1745 and 1766, and he was still alive in 1784.[78] Jean Gribenski accepts 1745 as the beginning of Davesne's activity in Paris, but gives the end date as 1773, and hypothesizes the date of death as sometime after 1784.[79] Davesne took out a *privilège* in 1743 for the publication of instrumental works,[80] and had a considerable number of works performed at the *Concert Spirituel*, between 1747 and 1773. He also composed large-scale vocal works and a collection of violin sonatas

74. This last work is in F-Pc, K3794. The violin part for sonatas 1–3 is missing.

75. Vm^7.4878 fol. 1–20

76. Pierre, p. 284–85.

77. Pierre, p. 101, provides the dates; La Gorce, 'L'Orchestre de l'Opéra', states that Davesne played in the *grand chœur* from 1750 until after 1764.

78. Mary Cyr, 'Davesne, Pierre Just', in *GMO* [accessed February 15, 2011]

79. Jean Gribenski [Eugène Borrel], 'Davesne, Pierre-Just' in *MGG,* v, pp. 485–86.

80. The extant instrumental works are a set of *six ouvertures à quatre* for strings (some with horns ad lib), 1755; *Première suite de menuets for orchestra*, c. 1755; *6 ariettes italiennes mises en symphonies* for the same, c. 1757, 1e [4e, 6e, 11e-12e] *suite de contredances* [sic] for the same, c. 1760. The *privilège* therefore is not necessarily evidence of some lost cello sonatas.

which was published by Leclerc in 1742, as well as other trios and sonatas.[81] No cello solos under his name can be found in the catalogues of the French music publishers of the first half of the eighteenth century; none is listed in RISM Series A/I, or the online catalogue for Series A/II (Music manuscripts after 1600).[82] Despite this, somewhat intriguingly, Ancelet singles him out precisely for the quality of his works. After praising Edouard, Barrière, Patouart, L'abbé, Martin, Chrétien and Berteau, Ancelet continues, "Davesne ne doit point être oublié; ses ouvrages le placent avec justice parmi les habiles gens."[83] While it is possible that Ancelet is referring to the motets, one cannot discount the idea that there were also cello sonatas by Davesne, most likely in manuscript, that he performed in the salons and which have since been lost. Ancelet's recognition of his compositions, and the phrase 'ne doit point être oublié' suggest Davesne may have been a better composer than performer.

Composers of Virtuosic Cello Music Who Did Not Play at the Opéra

Not all noteworthy cellists in Paris were members of the Opéra orchestra. Three in particular made extremely important contributions to the solo cello repertoire. Louis Patouart, composer of two sets of well-regarded sonatas,[84] Jean-Baptiste Masse, the most prolific of the early French cellist-composers, and Martin Berteau, arguably the most famous French cellist of the pre-Duport era and who, as the teacher of a number of late eighteenth-century French cellists (Tillière, Janson, Cupis and Jean-Pierre Duport) is usually considered to be the founder of the French cello school. A fourth cellist is included in this section, although his cello sonatas are lost. Jean-Baptiste Chrétien was praised by Maisonelle and Ancelet as one of the significant cellists of the time.

Louis Patouart

As for many cellists of this era, there is little information on Patouart. He is known to us mainly for his two sets of six cello sonatas. Almost certainly these were issued in the 1750s, and are extant in multiple editions. The Op. 1 sonatas exist in two editions with the Parisian music sellers Bayard, de La

81. This sentence is translated from Béatrice Dünner, 'Davesnes, Pierre Just' in *Dictionnaire de la musique en France*, ed. by Benoit, p. 208.

82. <http://opac.rism.info/index.php?id=2&L=1> [accessed 16 February 2011]

83. "Davesne must certainly not be forgotten; his works earn him a just place among the talented musicians". Ancelet, p. 25.

84. The sonatas were praised by Maisonelle, p. 23, who notes that Patouart "a fait aussi de bonnes Sonates".

Chevardière, M[lle] Castagnery, Le Menu and Moria listed on the title page. A third edition seems to have been made specifically for the provincial markets; the title page reads Paris, Le Clerc, Mme Boivin; Lille, Bordery.[85] Likewise, the Op. 2 sonatas exist in two editions. One, like the Op. 1 sonatas, was sold through the shops of Bayard, de La Chevardière, Mlle Castagnery, Le Menu and Moria. They were engraved by Moria.[86] A second copy, engraved by Gerardin, carried exclusively provincial addresses on its title page (other than the usual *aux adresses ordinaires*): Lyon, Toulouse, Rouen, Dunkerque.[87]

According to Maisonelle, Patouart was a good soloist, and also a sensitive accompanist, but needed to work on his tone: "Patoir [sic] joue très-bien la Sonate, il accompagne aussi avec beaucoup d'intelligence; mais il auroit dû s'appliquer à tirer une plus grande qualité de son, il a fait aussi de bonnes Sonates."[88]

He was an *Ordinaire de la chambre du Roy,* evidenced by the title pages of both the Op. 1 and Op. 2 sonatas. According to Thoinan, Patouart replaced L'abbé *le cadet* in the *Musique du Roi* in 1756.[89] This would date the printing of the sonatas to after 1756, although they could have been written earlier. He also played in the Comédie Française. Bonassies states that he was not employed after 1758, and that he was paid 400 livres (presumably per year).[90]

Jean-Baptiste Masse

Very little is known about the life of Jean-Baptiste Masse. This is surprising, since he made the largest contribution to the pre-1760 French cello repertoire, consisting of five sets of sonatas (Opp. 3 and 4 are in fact duos) as well as a set of six *Menuets nouveaux* for two cellos. Moreover, neither Ancelet nor Maisonelle make reference to him. Masse was associated with both the Comédie Française and the *Vingt-quatre violons*. The title pages of all his publications state that he was *L'un des vingt quatre de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy* and is dedicated to *Messieurs les Comediens François.* The dedication, which speaks of "Les bontées particulieres que vous avez eu pour moi depuis que j'ay le bonheur de vous estre attachée", confirms his association with

85. All three editions are listed in RISM, Series A/I, P 1024.

86. RISM, Series A/I, P 1025.

87. RISM, Series A/I, P 1026. The harp works listed under 'Patouart' in RISM are in fact by Patouart le fils.

88. "Patouart plays sonatas very well; he also accompanies with a lot of intelligence [sensitivity], but he would do well to learn to produce a larger sound. He has also written some good sonatas." Maisonelle, pp. 23–24.

89. "Louis François-Joseph Patouart succède à Pierre Labbé [sic] le 19 Avril 1756". Ernest Thoinan, *La Maison du Roi* (Paris [n.d.]), 1, p. 146, cited in Milliot, *Le Violoncelle,* p. 143.

90. Bonassies, Jules, *La Musique à la Comédie Française* (Paris, 1874), cited in Milliot, *Le Violoncelle,* p. 143.

the Comédie Française.[91] Op. 2 is dedicated to a Monsieur Gaudion de La Grange, Conseiller au Parlement, and Op. 3 to a Monsieur Chartraire, Marquis de Bourbonne Chevalier Con.er du Roy en tous ses Coneils, President a Mortier au Parlement de Bourgogne. There is nothing in the dedicatory epistles to suggest any special relationship with these patrons. The *Menuets nouveaux* and the Sonatas Opp. 4–5 bear no dedication, suggesting that Masse was sufficiently well-established by this time to be able to forgo patronage.

Jean-Baptiste Chrétien

Jean-Baptiste Chrétien was born around 1730 in Paris and died in 1760.[92] Chrétien, seemingly a youthful prodigy, performed at the *Concert Spirituel* in 1744[93] and was already attached to the *Musique du Roi.*[94] While this was to be his only appearance as a cellist at the *Concert Spirituel*, several other performances by Chrétien are documented. In 1748, "Entre les deux motets, le petit Chrétien a joué une sonate de violoncelle de sa composition, qu'il a très bien executé."[95] In 1752, Chrétien "a joué devant le Roi pendant son souper, le 12 octobre, en même temps que 3 violons de la Musique du Roi".[96] In 1754, together with the violinist Julien-Amiable Mathieu and another musician named Antoine Camus, he gave concerts in Versailles.[97] Chrétien was also a composer of some note and had been taught composition by A. Campra.[98] As early as 11 March 1746 he had a motet performed at Versailles, "dont toute la cour fut satisfaite".[99] Following a performance of his *divertissement lyrique, Iris ou L'Orage dissipé,* the *Mercure de France* noted in November 1752 that "Le Sieur Chrétien a mérité pour son premier ouvrage lyrique de fort grands applaudissements. Les airs de violon, les chœurs, les Ariettes et les récitatifs, tout a été goûté."[100] A symphony of his composition was included in the *Concert Spirituel* of 2 June 1754.[101] Chrétien's output includes two works for

91. Jules Bonassies, *La Musique à la Comédie Française* (Paris: Baur, 1873; repr. Béziers: Société de Musicologie de Languedoc, 1997), p. 28 <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008694762> [accessed 18 July 2012]

92. Jean Gribenski, 'Chrétien' in *MGG,* iv, p. 1029.

93. Pierre, p. 836

94. Pierre, p. 109

95. "Between the two motets, little Chrétien played a cello sonata of his own composition, which was very well performed." *Mémoires du duc de Luynes,* ix, pp. 9-11, cited in Barry S. Brook, *La symphonie française dans la seconde moitié du XVIII*e *siècle,* 3 vols (Paris: Institut de musicologie de l'Université de Paris, 1962), ii, p. 202.

96. "Chrétien played for the King during his supper on 12 October, at the same time as three violinists from the *Musique du Roi."*

97. Brook, ii, p. 203.

98. Gribenski, 'Chrétien'

99. *Mercure de France,* March 1746, cited in Brook, ii, p. 203.

100. "Chrétien deservedly received acclaim for his first lyric work. Violin melodies, choruses, ariettas, and recitatives, all were in good taste." Cited in Brook, ii, p. 203.

101. Pierre, ii, p. 267.

the theatre, some arrangements for two violins and cello, one symphony, as well as several lost works: some vocal compositions; trios for violin, cello, and continuo, and four cello sonatas, the latter formerly preserved in manuscript in the Königlich Hausbibliothek in Berlin, but lost during the war. [102] Ancelet places him alongside the eminent cellists, suggesting that he was a significant presence on the Parisian cello scene. Maisonelle speaks of his promise as a great performer, which evidently was never fulfilled on account of his early death: Chrétien "joue facilement des Sonates de Violon très-difficiles, il tire un assez beau son, & pourroit devenir le plus grand homme de son siècle, s'il s'attachoit davantage a l'expression." [103] His son, Gilles-Louis Chrétien, was also a cellist.

Martin Berteau (1708–1771)

Fortunately, we are better informed about Martin Berteau, yet considering he is the most celebrated French cellist before the Duport brothers, it is surprising that there are still many lacunæ in our knowledge of his career. This probably reflects that a considerable portion of Berteau's career took place outside of Paris. [104]

Berteau was born in Valenciennes in 1708, or in the first few weeks of 1709. [105] The circumstances of his early career remain unclear. Roger J. V. Cotte, after repeating the unsubstantiated claim that he first learnt the viol from Kozais (see below), states that he was virtually self-taught as a cellist, and gradually let go of the traditional gamba technique, developing and discovering the possibilities of the new instrument. [106] Like many of the cellists in this study who originated in the provinces, it is likely that Berteau gained at least his initial musical education in one of the church *maîtrises*

102. Gribenski, 'Chrétien'. See <http://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/musikabteilung/recherche-und-ressourcen/kriegsverlust.html> for information on music collections in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin lost during the war. [accessed 27 June 2011]

103. "Chrétien plays very difficult violin sonatas with ease, he produces a beautiful tone, and could become the greatest artist of his age, if he applied himself more to expression." Maisonelle, p. 24.

104. Music in the French provinces has only recently been the subject of considerable research. The most extensive study of music in the French provinces is Sylvie Granger, *Musiciens Dans La Ville (1600-1850)* (Paris: Belin, 2002).

105. The date and place of birth are calculated from the *acte de décès* (given in full in Figure 2.1), which reads, "Berteault ... natif des environs de Valenciennes mourut ... le 22 Janvier 1771, âgé de 62 ans." Some earlier sources, citing Fétis, give the date of death as 1756. Furthermore, a certain Pierre Berteau, possibly a descendant, claims to have found a baptism certificate from 3 February 1691, for a Martin Berteau, son of Pierre Berteau and Anne Lemay, in the Archives Départementales du Nord. He concedes that it is difficult to confirm the date or to say whether it is indeed the correct Berteau, since "certains auteurs s'étant intéressés à lui" give a date between 1700 and 1708. See <http://www.musimem.com/berteau.htm> [accessed 22 June 2009]

106. See Roger J.V. Cotte, 'Berteau, Martin, in *MGG*, II, pp. 1439–41.

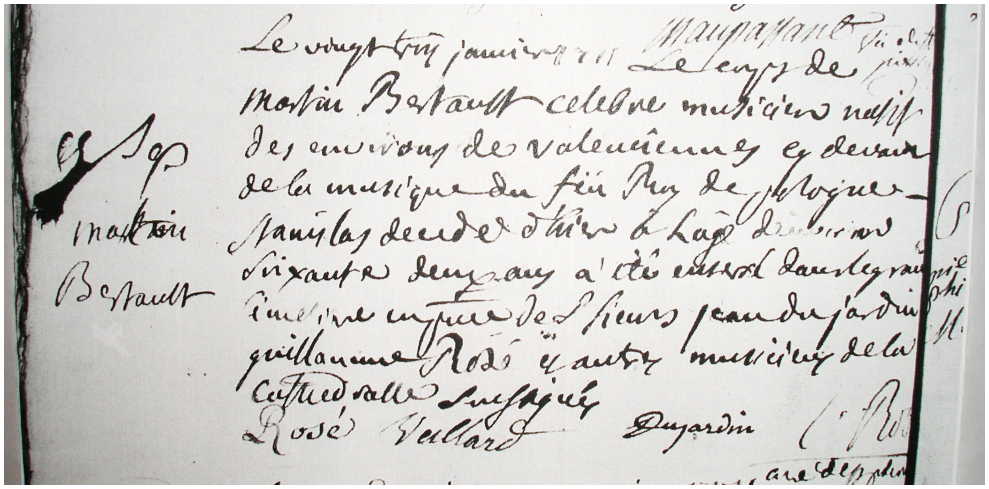


Figure 2.1: Acte de décès of Martin Berteau

in the region. He may well have spent his early years in Valenciennes or perhaps some years in the employ of Stanislas (or Stanislaus) Leszczynski, the former King of Poland who was then Duke of Lorraine and Bar, and who, as we have seen in Section 1.5, had established a court in Lunéville. While the phrase *cy-devant de la musique du feu Roy de Pologne Stanislas* is used in the *acte de décès* of Berteau (Figure 2.1), his employment at the court is not conclusive. He is not mentioned in Jacquot's list of cellists who played at the court at Lunéville, and it seems astonishing that Jacquot would omit such a significant cellist.[107] Other studies of music at the court at Lunéville make no reference to Berteau.[108]

It is likely that he was in Paris by the late 1740s, since his only surviving set of cello sonatas (Op. 1) was brought out there under the pseudonym 'Signor Martino', in 1748.[109] Adas reports that "writers before Fétis" refer to

107. Jacquot, *La Musique en Lorraine: étude retrospective d'après les archives locales* (Paris: Quantin, 1882; repr. Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), p. 153, states, "Le violoncelle est employé continuellement dans les orchestres, en Lorraine; ceux qui en jouaient à la cour étaient: Alberty, Morel, Pally, Bidelly et Méjà."

108. See Gilbert Rose, 'La Musique à la cour de Lorraine sous le roi Stanislas', in *Musica antiqua III: Acta scientifica,* Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis, 3 (Bydgoszcz: Bydgoskie Towarzystwo Naukowe Bydgosztz, 1972); Yves Ferraton, ed., *Musique en lorraine: contribution à l'histoire de la musique à Nancy, XVIIe-XXe siècles* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1994); Yves Ferraton, ed., *Itinéraires musicaux en Lorraine: Sources, événements, compositeurs: Actes du colloque de Commercy* (Langres: Guéniot, 2002). It is hoped that further studies of the music at the court of Stanislas will reveal the extent of Berteau's activities there.

109. For further information on the problem of Signor Martino, and his subsequent identification with Berteau, see Jane Adas, 'Le Célèbre Berteau'. It should be noted that several sonatas in the Martino/Berteau set are identical or closely related to sonatas by Giuseppe Dall'Abaco. This problem has never been fully resolved. See Nancy Weaver Monsman, 'Cello

him "being active in Paris around 1748." [110] It is possible for these reasons that the 'Martini' who performed a cello concerto at the *Concert Spirituel* in 1749 was in fact Berteau. Other than this possible performance, there are no other appearances by Berteau at the *Concert Spirituel.* Writers since Fétis have lauded a supposedly spectacular performance at the *Concert Spirituel* in 1739, but this is not recorded by the *Mercure de France,* which reported on all performances. [111] While the *Mercure* may have failed to mention a mere cello sonata amidst the pomp of *motets à grand chœur* and violin concertos, surely Fétis's assertion that, following the 1739 performance, "not a year passed when he was not pressed to play in this institution", is inaccurate. [112] Berteau's compositions, which according to Ancelet, were highly regarded *(estimées)* by connoisseurs, also were neglected by the *Concert Spirituel*. Only twice did his music appear in the programmes of the concert series and both works are problematic. A *sonate en trio* was performed by Gaviniés, Edouard and Capel on 5 May 1750. [113] The exact identity of this work remains in question, as do the identities of the performers, and the instruments they played. Adas assumes the work was a normal trio sonata (two violins and basso continuo). However, Pierre states that it was a sonata for violin, horn and bassoon. [114] If the work in question is among Berteau's surviving compositions, then it must be the trio sonata, for two cellos and continuo, the final work from Berteau's set of cello sonatas. In this case, Gaviniés most likely played the first cello part an octave higher on the violin, with Edouard playing the second cello part, and Capel playing the bass on the bassoon. [115]

Music in an Eighteenth Century Manuscript: The "Opus 1" Sonatas of Giuseppe Dall'Abaco (1710-1805)' (unpublished DMA dissertation, University of Arizona, 1991).

110. Adas, p. 369.

111. See Adas, pp. 369–370.

112. Cited in Adas, p. 370.

113. There were at least two musicians bearing the name Edouard at this time: the cellist (discussed below), and a horn player. The name 'Capel' also causes confusion. A 'Capel' played the bassoon in the orchestra of the *Concert Spirituel* and the Opéra, and played a bassoon concerto at the *Concert Spirituel* on 30 March 1750. A 'Capel', also played the horn in a horn quartet with Edouard, Vibret and Hébert on 17 May 1750. Pierre believes this was the same musician, and states, without argument, that Capel played the bassoon in the Berteau trio.

114. Pierre, p. 116.

115. The first cello part in this sonata, notated in tenor clef throughout, never descends below *d*, so could easily be played on a violin, one octave higher. None of the parts could have been played on the natural horn, so that is not an option for this particular sonata. There are no surviving trios by Berteau for violin, horn and bassoon (as Pierre has suggested) and this was certainly not a common combination, so it is quite unlikely. That would also explain why Maisonelle praised Berteau's works for violin and for cello, but not any concertante works with winds. The performance of the continuo part on bassoon, without keyboard realization, also indicates that performance without a chordal instrument was practised. See Tharald Borgir, *The Performance of the Basso Continuo in Italian Baroque Music* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1987).

However it is still possible the work is a now lost trio for violin, cello and continuo.

The performance of a cello sonata by Berteau on 8 September, 1753 also presents a problem. The performer was named as a 'M. Baptiste', but his identity is in question. [116] It is not likely to have been Jean-Baptiste Stück, although he did use the sobriquet 'Baptistin'. Stück had played at the *Concert Spirituel* in 1728, but by 1758, just five years after the performance in question, Maisonelle already considered his playing to be too far in the past to comment on intelligently. [117]

Although Berteau may not have performed at the *Concert Spirituel*, he obviously did perform to public acclaim in Paris, and drew praise from a wide variety of contemporary writers. Ancelet wrote that Berteau "est aussi surprenant que singulier". [118] The highest praise comes from Maisonelle who testified that of all the cellists of his era, "Berteau est celui qui ait paru avec le plus d'éclat, il fait de grandes difficultés, joue supérieurement l'Adagio, il est fort maître de son archet, & tire un son étonnant; ses Sonates tant pour le Violon que pour le Violoncelle, sont estimées de tous les Connoisseurs." [119] This suggests that he was well-known as a performer and composer in the salons. A decade later, Rousseau singled out Berteau, alongside the violinist Mondonville, for the beauty of their harmonics. [120]

At the end of his career, we can state with some certainty that Berteau was engaged briefly at the Cathedral of St. Maurice in Angers, the town where he died in 1771. The *registres capitulaires de la cathédrale St-Maurice* indicate that Berteau was paid on two occasions: on 20 September 1769, he, together with the musicians Joubert, Fiorès, Dupré, Finelli, Gillet, and Favre, played instruments on the eve and feast day of St. Maurice. Berteau was paid a much larger sum than the other musicians. [121] On 18 April 1770, Berteau,

116. This 'M. Baptiste' also played a cello sonata by Lanzetti on June 21 of the same year. It cannot have been the violinist Jean-Baptiste-Jacques Anet (1676–1755), to whom the sobriquet normally refers. Not only was Anet 77 years old by the time these concerts took place, but he had long left Paris in 1737 or 1738 to join the orchestra of Stanislas at Lunéville.

117. Lewis, pp. 32 and 34, assumes that the performer was Jean-Baptiste Stück.

118. "Berteau is a surprising as he is unique".

119. "Berteau is the one who showed the greatest brilliance, he can handle very difficult passages, plays *adagios* in a superior manner, is very much the master of his bow, and produces an astonishing sound. His sonatas, both for the violin and for the cello, are esteemed by all connoisseurs." Maisonelle, p. 24. To my knowledge no previous researchers have cited Maisonelle, concentrating instead on the posthumous accolades. These are indeed many, and come both from cellists and from general writers.

120. Cited in Adas, p. 375.

121. Angers, Archives Départementales de Maine-et-Loire, G 271, records a payment on 20 September 1769, "aux musiciens qui ont joué des instruments les veille et jour de la feste de St Maurice, scavoir à chacun des sieurs Joubert, Fiorès, Dupré, Finelli et Gillet, 10 livres, au Sr BRETAULT 24 livres et au sieur Favre 6 livres". I am grateful to Sylvie Granger for providing this information.

together with Joubert and Bourgeois, (described as "musiciens symphonistes" were paid for playing the "violon" (= instruments of the violin family) on the eve and day of Easter, at Vespers, Mass and Benediction. [122]

At this stage, nothing else is known of Berteau's life or his family situation. If an inventory of his possessions was made after his death, it has not survived. However, several unsubstantiated claims about Berteau, some often repeated, and most of which can be traced back to Fétis, deserve review. Apart from the alleged performance at the *Concert Spirituel* in 1739, the most intriguing include that Berteau studied the viol with a Bohemian viol player Kozais or Kozecz in Germany, that he converted to the cello after hearing the Italian cellist Franciscello (Francesco Alborea), that he held his bow underhand in the manner of a viol player, and that he had an excessive fondness for wine. [123] There are also four 'lost' cello concertos by Berteau, apparently performed at the *Concert Spirituel*. [124]

It is difficult to ascertain whether Berteau was a viol player before turning to the cello. It is possible that he learnt and played the viol in Valenciennes; certainly there was indeed a flourishing viol school in southern Germany at this time, [125] but the name Kozais or Kozecz is remembered only in connection with Berteau and not the school. If Berteau did go to Germany, it is plausible that he heard Franciscello play, as the latter was in Vienna from 1726 until his death in 1739. [126] However, as Jane Adas has pointed out, such a claim has been made on behalf of numerous cellists, including Barrière. As we have seen, Barrière supposedly went to Italy to study with him in the 1730s when Franciscello was in fact in Vienna; and according to Marpurg, J.-P. Duport, who was born two years after Franciscello died, travelled to Genoa to hear him. [127]

The assertion that Berteau played with an an underhand bow hold is more intriguing. This may have been the case, considering Berteau's alleged

122. Angers, Archives Départementales de Maine-et-Loire, G 271, records a payment on 18 April 1770 of "6 livres payées à chacun des Sr BRETAULT, Joubert et Bourgeois musiciens symphonistes pour avoir joué du Violon les veille et jour de Pâques aux Vespres, grand messe et salut". Again, I am grateful to Sylvie Granger for providing this information.

123. See Adas, p. 368. Other presently unprovable anecdotes, given by Edouard Grar, 'Biographie valenciennoise: Bertault, violoncelliste et compositieur', in *Revue agricole, industrielle et littéraire du Nord* (Valenciennes: Société impériale d'agriculture, sciences et arts, Feb. 1856), pp. 230–232 <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5539604j/f18.image> [accessed 15 September 2011] and repeated in Milliot, *Le Violoncelle,* II, pp. 591–593, are: that he taught the Dauphin, the son of Louis XV, who was not a good student, and that he travelled to England, where he became lazy, abandoning himself to drink; he returned from England impoverished, in spite of his success there.

124. Cyr, 'Berteau, Martin', in *GMO* [accessed 12 January 2011]

125. See Lucy Robinson, 'Viol' in *GMO* [accessed 15 September 2011].

126. Grar repeats the assertion that Berteau, after learning the viol from Kozecz, switched to the cello, but does not mention Franciscello. See Milliot, *Le Violoncelle,* p. 591.

127. See Adas, p. 369.

training on the viol. Cellists outside France did use this bow-hold up to the end of the eighteenth century. But France was the exception, thanks largely to Lully's demand for uniformity of bow hold in his ensembles which then became the norm for French cellists, basse de violon players, and double bassists, at least those associated with the Opéra and the *Vingt-quatre violons*. [128]

Given that Berteau did not play at the Opéra or, as far as we know, with the *Vingt-quatre violons,* he may have been an exception who held the bow underhand. But considering his prominence, it would seem likely that a contemporary commentator would have picked up on this, as, for instance, did the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* with Schetky. [129] Most significantly, Berteau was the teacher of many of the celebrated late eighteenth-century French cellists, including J.-P. Duport, the Janson brothers, Tillière, and Cupis *le jeune*, who all used the overhand hold, and were famed especially for their bow technique. It is extremely unlikely that they could have acquired this skill from a teacher who used a completely different, even anomalous bow hold. Moreover, there is no mention of the underhand bow grip in the treatises of his pupils. A portrait of Berteau by Michel-Nicholas-Bernard Lepicié shows the cellist, although not playing, holding his bow in an overhand grip (Figure 2.2). [130]

A final question concerns Berteau's compositions, especially those for his own instrument. Despite his renown, it was long believed that none of his works for the cello survived. Among the 'lost' works, are three books of cello sonatas engraved in Paris, cited by Fétis; [131] some *Pièces pour Violoncelle ou Basson,* Op. 3, listed in the *Bureau d'Abonnement Musical* from 1762 to 1782; [132] *Musique de violoncelle* advertised by Le Menu et Boyer in 1777, "which becomes 'violoncelle sonates' from 1779 to 1782; from 1783 to 1788 Boyer alone advertised 'Sonates p^{r} Violoncelle' by Bertaud". [133]

Adas believes that the latter two are identical, not only with each other, but also with the 1771 printing of a set of cello sonatas originally published in 1748 as by Martino, which she has discovered to be by Berteau. [134] There

128. See Smith 'The Cello Bow', and Brent Wissick, 'The Cello Music of Antonio Bononcini: Violone, Violoncello da Spalla, and the Cello "Schools" of Bologna and Rome', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 12 (2006) <http://sscm-jscm.press.illinois.edu/v12/no1/wissick.html>

129. *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung,* no. 5, Oct 16 1799, cols. 33–34, cited in Walden, *One Hundred Years,* p. 80.

130. Jane Adas cites the painter as Michel-Nicholas-Bernard.

131. Fétis, *Biographie Universelle,* 1860, 1, pp. 381–382. Cited in Lewis, p. 24.

132. Adas, p. 371

133. ibid.

134. The 1771 edition was engraved by Richomme and sold by Le Menu, as well as by Castaud in Lyon, and in Rouen, Toulouse and Dunkerque. The 1748 'Martino' sonatas, advertised in J.-P. Leclerc's 1751 catalogue, were engraved by M^{lle} Estein; the title page

Figure 2.2: Michel-Nicholas-Bernard Lepicié, *Portrait of Berteau.* Source: <http://www.harmoniasacra.com/page-1050.html>

must be some doubt about the lost "four concertos" performed at the *Concert Spirituel*, considering Fétis is the only source of their existence, but it is not unlikely there are lost concertos by Berteau.

Much more significant is research by Adas that established the existence of a set of six cello sonatas by 'Sgr. Bertau' to be identical with sonatas by Martino. [135] According to Adas, these 'Martino' sonatas survive in four copies, two in the Bibliothèque Nationale, one in the British Library, and one in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna. [136] Prior to Adas's findings, there had been considerable confusion concerning the mysterious Sgr. Martino, resulting in the two copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale being

advertised that copies could be bought through the shops of C.-N. Leclerc, M^{me} Boivin, and Blaise.

135. The 'Sgr. Berteau' sonatas are conserved in the British Library, which acquired them in 1975. See Adas, esp. pp. 370–372. The following paragraphs are a summary of Adas' findings.

136. Adas, pp. 370 and 371.

attributed to G.-B. Sammartini; the British Library's copy to Philippo Martino, and the copy in Bologna to François Martin. [137] RISM attributes all four copies to Philippo Martino. [138] If Adas is correct in assuming that the 'musique de violoncelle' and 'violoncelle sonates' advertised by Boyer et Le Menu are identical with the 1771 re-publication of Op. 1 (the 'Martino' sonatas), then the only known missing works are the Op. 3 Pièces and possibly some concertos.

There are still further complications regarding the 'Martino' sonatas, even though thanks to Adas, there is little reason to doubt that Berteau was involved with their composition. However, at least some of them may be based on borrowed material. Monsman's research has revealed that some of the movements are identical or closely related to movements in sonatas by the Flemish cellist Joseph-Marie-Clément [Giuseppe] Dall'Abaco. She notes that "three of these movements are note-for-note identical to Dall'Abaco's score, varying only in that occasional slurs or ornaments have been added. Two other are very similar, but differ in that extensive passagework has been added to them. Other movements in the set are similar in outline, but no material has been directly borrowed." [139]

Finally, it should be noted that other works by Berteau survive. Two short pieces appear in early nineteenth-century cello treatises: an exercise in J.-L. Duport's *Essai* (with an accompaniment for second cello) and an A minor sonata in Bréval's *Traité du violoncelle*. [140] A further eleven short pieces by Berteau, with such characteristically French titles as *amoroso*, *air gay*, *air*

137. Adas, p. 371. The French copies are still attributed to Sammartini in the Bibliothèque Nationale's online catalogue <http://catalogue.bnf.fr>. The Italian copy is listed in the online catalogue of the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica as by 'Martino, Francesco', although they can be found by searching 'Martino, Philippe' or by searching 'Berteau, Martin' <http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/libri.asp?ms=%27E%27&ms=%27M%27&ID=6918>. The British Library has corrected its online catalogue <http://catalogue.bl.uk> so that both copies are now attributed to Berteau. Additionally, there is a copy in the University of Cambridge Library, catalogued under 'Martino', with the note that "RISM attributes these sonatas to 'Philippo Martino'; the Lesure/Paris catalogue attributes them to G.B. Sammartini Price 9tt" [all accessed 4 July 2011]. The 'Martino' set is also listed in the works list given in Julie Anne Sadie, 'Martin, François (ii)', in *GMO* [accessed 12 July 2010]

138. Furthermore, the third sonata from the set, in G Major, is well-known in a modern edition by Alfred Moffat from 1911, (attributed to G.-B. Sammartini) and popular as an advanced student piece. See also Adas, pp. 372–375.

139. Monsman, p. 31. The Flemish cellist, Joseph-Marie-Clément Dall'Abaco, son of the composer Evaristo Felice Dall'Abaco, was born in Brussels in 1710. He was educated in Venice and from 1729 worked as cellist, and later director of the court chamber orchestra, in Bonn. He also travelled to England in 1740, and possibly to Vienna in 1749. in 1753 he left Bonn for Verona.

140. From this inclusion, Barry S. Brook, et al., 'Bréval, Jean-Baptiste Sébastien', in *GMO* [accessed 24 July 2010] surmises that Bréval may have studied with Berteau, although there is no other evidence for this. It is known that Bréval was a student of Jean-Baptiste Cupis.

gratieux and *largo* are included in Cupis's *Recueil d'airs choisis des meilleurs auteurs* (1761). These are not as virtuosic as the sonatas, although some make use of the fifth, sixth and seventh positions and one uses thumb position (notated in the alto clef). There are slurs, and slurred staccato, but no double stops (unlike some other pieces in the collection).

There are also works for the violin: a set of ten sonatas (Op. 2) published in 1767, and an *air varié* and four sonatas in manuscript in the hand of Abbé Roze. As Roze was *maître de musique* at the Cathedral of St. Maurice in Angers, it is possible some connection between the two musicians resulted in Berteau's arrival in Angers.

Edouard

Somewhat intriguingly, one virtuoso cellist, Edouard, who performed at the *Concert Spirituel* and who was included by Ancelet among the leading seven cellists (eight including Davesne) up to 1757, did not leave any solo cello music at all. In spite of being praised by several contemporary writers, we know very little about Edouard. Maisonelle noted that, in spite of his sickly body, he had much merit, and was a great musician who had overcome great difficulties. He also accompanied perfectly.[141] As discussed above, he possibly performed alongside Gaviniés and Capel in a *sonate en trio* by Berteau at the *Concert Spirituel* on 5 April 1750.[142] He is also mentioned by Wasielewski, who notes simply that "Concerning the violoncellist Edouard, only the following notice is found in Gerber; 'A violoncellist living in Paris, in 1737, was an extraordinary artist on his instrument, and was much commended by Telemann' ".[143]

2.3 French Composers Who Were Not Cellists

In spite of the cello's rising popularity, few major French composers who were not cellists composed for the instrument during this time. Joseph Bodin de Boismortier and Michel Corrette are the exceptions. Curiously, they are also the only two French composers from this era who composed concertos for the instrument that are extant; no concertos survive that may have been written by the virtuoso cellists themselves. In addition, a host of minor French composers also published cello sonatas, although they are primarily

141. "Edouard, dans un corps très-chétif, renfermoit boucoup [sic] de mérité, étoit grand Musicien, & avoit surmonté les grandes difficultés qui lui étoient devenues familiéres [sic], il accompagnoit aussi parfaitement." Maisonelle, p. 23. The difficulties presumably included his 'sickly body'.

142. See Pierre, p. 258, n°411.

143. Wasielewski, p. 93.

associated with other instruments: Baur with the harp, and Chédeville and Dupuits with the musette and hurdy-gurdy respectively.

Like many of his cellist contemporaries, Joseph Bodin de Boismortier (1689–1755) received his musical training in the provinces. He was born in Thionville in 1689, where he spent his childhood.[144] He remained in the provinces, going to Metz in 1700, and to Perpignan, where in 1713 "he was *receveur de la régie royale des tabacs* for the Roussillon troops".[145] He left Perpignan for Paris in 1723. He became involved with the Fair Theatres, and was *sous-chef* and then *chef d'orchestre* at the Foire St. Laurent from 1743 to 1745 and was also at the Foire St. Germain in 1745.[146] Any connection with the Fair Theatres in the preceding years is unclear, but it is likely that quite early on he became acquainted with the Saint-Sévin brothers, L'abbé *l'aîné* and L'abbé *le cadet,* who at these venues. The playing of these two cellists may have inspired him to compose for the cello as a solo instrument. As mentioned in Section 1.7, Boismortier pays tribute to L'abbé *l'aîné* on the title page to his Op. 26 cello sonatas.

Furthermore, Boismortier also had close connections with another cellist, the German Johann (Jean) Zewalt Triemer, who had a set of cello sonatas published in Paris between 1736 and 1739.[147] In the three years prior to the publication of Boismortier's own Op. 26 cello sonatas, Triemer had stayed with Boismortier in Paris from 1726 to 1729 and studied composition with him on the advice of Quantz. This association added to that with the L'abbé brothers may have further influenced Boismortier to write for the cello, and continued on to the Op. 50 set of 1734.

Boismortier's first book of cello sonatas predates any sets of sonatas published by any of the professional cellists. The set concludes with what is the first French cello concerto in a scoring for solo cello accompanied by two violins and continuo.

The other significant French composer who wrote for the cello in this period, although not a cellist, was Michel Corrette (1707–1795).[148] Corrette's interest in the cello was considerable, and he provided not only a book of sonatas (the one titled book from this period, the typically French *Les délices*

144. Philippe Lescat, 'Boismortier, Joseph Bodin de' in *GMO* [accessed 28 February 2011]
145. ibid.
146. ibid.
147. They appear in the 'first' catalogue of C.-N. Leclerc, which Devriès dates to 1738–39. Since Leclerc only began publishing in 1736, they must be within this time frame. The sonatas were re-issued by Witvogel in 1742.
148. Corrette had a wide-ranging interest in all instruments, publishing methods for flute, keyboard, guitar, singing, violin, pardessus de viole, mandolin, double bass, viola, *viole d'orphée,* harp, oboe, bassoon, hurdy-gurdy and recorder, as well as cello, and solos for flute, musette, hurdy-gurdy, horn, keyboard, organ and violin. The bulk of his instrumental output is for the flute. He also published a considerable amount of sacred and secular vocal music and some orchestral music.

de la solitude) and a 'concerto' for four cellos, but also the first French treatise for the cello.

Corrette began his career in the Fair Theatres, being musical director of the Foire St. Germain and the Foire St. Laurent from 1732 to 1739. Like Boismortier, he would have become acquainted with L'abbé *l'aîné* and other cellists who were playing in the Fair Theatres during this period. He was also active as an organist, employed at the church of St. Marie "within the temple of the grand prieur of France" from 1737 until 1790, and in this capacity, also served the Chevalier d'Orléans, the Prince of Conti (from 1749) and the Duc d'Angoulême (from 1776), and the Jesuit college from around 1738 until 1762. [149]

Among the lesser French composers who were not cellists, but who contributed to the cello repertoire, the most significant name is Jean-Baptiste Dupuits (active 1741–57). David Fuller and Bruce Gustafson claim that he deserves more attention than he has hitherto received, stating that "his works are substantial in both quantity and quality, and merit something better than the total obscurity into which they have fallen, even though many are written for so unsatisfactory an instrument as the hurdy-gurdy". [150] In addition to a large number of compositions for the hurdy-gurdy, vocal music (eight cantatas or *cantailles*), some ballet music, sonatas for flute and violin, and some minuets, Dupuits composed a set of six cello sonatas as Op 17. These, engraved by M^{me} Pradat, were advertised in J.-P. Leclerc's catalogue in 1751, and sold through the shops of M^{me} Boivin, Leclerc and M^{lle} Castagnery.

Although Dupuits' dates are unknown, he was active between 1741 and 1757. While details of his career are scanty, and there is no known association with any cellist that might have led him to publish a set of cello sonatas, he did make an indirect contribution to the education of cellists in France towards the end of this period under study. In 1753 he opened a public school of music, which by 1757, offered instruction in all instruments; "lessons in the various styles" were "given every day except Sundays and holidays, and three times a week concerts for learning ensemble and keeping in time." [151] Unfortunately, no teacher of cello at this school can be identified.

The harpist and composer Jean Baur (1719–after 1773) was born in Bousonville in the Moselle region in northeastern France in 1719. Details of his early career remain vague; but he settled in Paris in 1745. Although remembered primarily for his compositions for the harp, [152] Baur published two sets of cello sonatas. Op. 1 appeared in the 1751 catalogue of J-.P. Leclerc.

149. David Fuller and Bruce Gustafson, 'Corrette, Michel', in *GMO* [accessed 8 June 2011]
150. David Fuller and Bruce Gustafson, 'Dupuits, Jean-Baptiste', in *GMO* [accessed 9 June 2011]
151. ibid.
152. Alice Lawson Aber-Count, 'Baur', in *GMO* [accessed 27 June 2011]

A second set of cello sonatas was published as Op. 2, and sold in the shops of Vernadé, Bayard and Castagnery. This set was engraved by M^{lle} Vendôme, and the title page bears the unusual description, "avec plusieurs pièces en sons harmoniques".

As all of Baur's remaining output is for harp, other than one set of sonatas and duos for violin, the fact the cello sonatas are his first publications suggests that he must have had an interest in writing for the cello at an early stage in his career, either because he himself played the instrument, or because he was acquainted with a cellist. It is tempting to regard him as also being influenced by cellists in the orchestras of the Fair Theatres.

Nicolas Chédeville (1705–1782) was born in Sérez in Eure, Upper Normandy. Chédeville's career is inextricably linked with the musette, an instrument which was briefly fashionable in Paris in the mid eighteenth century: he was a musette player himself, a maker of musettes, and composed and arranged much music for his instrument. It is unclear when he arrived in Paris, but in 1729 he took out his first *privilège* to publish his own compositions.

Jane M. Bowers notes that Chédeville took a keen interest in Italian music in the late 1730s, and he arranged some Italian concertos and sonatas for the musette (with alternatives for hurdy-gurdy or flute given on the title page). Most of his surviving works are for the musette (with alternative instrumentation for a variety of treble instruments). The exceptions are a collection of sonatas, Op. 7, for flute, oboe or violin, and a set of *Pièces choisies* for cello, now lost, which were advertised in J.-P. Leclerc's catalogues in 1742.[153] The inspiration to compose a set of cello solos may have been the attraction to write for yet another instrument new to the concert stage, and with overt Italian associations. The choice of a French title, *Pièces choisies*, when nearly all other cello music was called 'sonates' in France, is unusual. With the collection lost, it is not possible to ascertain whether it actually was a collection of sonatas, idiosyncratically labelled.

2.4 Italian Cellists and Composers of Cello Music

With violin playing in France at this time dominated by Italians and the Italian style, it is not surprising that a number of Italian cellists also performed in Paris to great acclaim. Among those in Paris were Bononcini, Lanzetti, Stück, Graziani and Ferrari, while the French cellist Barrière travelled to Italy in the late 1730s.

153. The *Pièces choisies* for cello are not listed in the Work List in SL [Simone Wallon], 'Chédeville in *MGG*, IV, p. 815, but they are listed in Aber-Count, 'Baur' in *GMO*, which cites a 1742 catalogue and Devriès.

Italian Performers at the *Concert Spirituel*

Salvatore Lanzetti (c. 1710–c. 1780) was born in Naples and died in Turin. He gave two performances at the *Concert Spirituel* in May 1736 (see Table 1.2) and had a set of twelve cello sonatas, Op. 1, published by C.-N. Leclerc around this time. Subsequently, his Opp. 2 and 3 cello sonatas (both sets of six sonatas) were also published in Paris, appearing in the catalogues issued by C.-N. Leclerc after 1749–50. For these reasons, Lanzetti is quite prominent in the development of the French cello repertoire in this era, although the amount of time he spent in the French capital is still uncertain. Other than these performances and publications, we know nothing of his activities in Paris. It is likely he was only in the city for a short time en route to London. His performances at the *Concert Spirituel* and the publication of his Op. 1 at a time when the cello was in its first period of popularity, would have been influential not only on French cellists, but also on the wider public. Lanzetti's performances and publication in 1736 came five years before the appearance of Corrette's *Méthode* and Le Blanc's *Défense de la basse de viole*, but seven years after the publication of the first French cello sonatas (by Boismortier) and three years after the appearance of Barrière's Livre I sonatas and almost exactly contemporary with Triemer's publication.

Carlo Ferrari was the brother of the violinist and composer, Domenico Ferrari. He was born around 1710 in Piacenza and took his nickname, *lo zoppo di Piacenza*, from his home town.[154] He was educated in Cremona.[155] He was already known in Paris by 1750 and was resident there possibly for up to ten years. He was a chamber musician in the service of Dom Philippe by 1756 and performed twice at the *Concert Spirituel* in that year (16 and 20 April—sonata and concerto) (see Table 1.2). There is no further information on his career until 1765 when he joined the court orchestra at Parma and remained in that city until his death in 1789.

Italians Who Had their Sonatas Published in Paris

The Bolognese cellist Antonio Vandini (c. 1690–1788) is best known for his association with Tartini. The two musicians frequently performed together in Padua, "at meetings of the Accademia dei Ricovrati (1728–48) and at ceremonies of the Pia Aggregazione di S Cecilia to which they both belonged".[156] Vandini was appointed first cellist in the orchestra of the basilica of San Antonio in Padua in 1721, and he remained there until 1770, other than a period between 1722 and 1726, when he, along with Tartini, went to Prague.

154. SL [Guglielmo Barblan], 'Ferrari' in *MGG*, VI, p. 1027.
155. ibid.
156. Sven Hansell and Maria Nevilla Massaro, 'Vandini, Antonio', in *GMO* [accessed 1 March 2011]

Prior to this, he was employed as cellist at S Maria Maggiore in Bermago, and was *maestro di violoncello* for a short time in late 1720 and early 1721.

Vandini is not known to have visited Paris, although he had a set of cello sonatas published by C.-N. Leclerc in the early 1760s. [157] This print is lost. However, Hansell lists six cello sonatas in C, A minor, B♭, B♭, C and E, scattered across various libraries (I-Vnm, D-SWl, D-Bsb, F-Pn). [158]

Some Italians who were not cellists, of whom a few were resident in Paris, also published cello sonatas in the French capital. Two of these were Joseph Saggione and Pietro Gianotti. Saggione (active 1680–1733), also known as Giuseppe Fedeli, is chiefly remembered for having been one of the first to play the double bass at the Paris Opéra (together with Michel Pignolet de Montéclair). [159] Fedeli was probably of Venetian origin, as it was there that he forged his early career. He was employed as a trombonist at San Marco in 1680, and was still there in 1694, when he was a member of the instrumentalists' guild. [160] However, most of his career took place in Paris, where he was based at least from 1701, when he played the double bass at the Opéra for the first time. Little else is known of his career. Evidently he had wider connections. His opera, *The Temple of Love,* was produced at the Haymarket Theatre in 1706, and his Op. 1 violin sonatas were dedicated Saxon Prince Friedrich August in 1715. [161] His six sonatas for two cellos, viols or bassoons were published in Paris in 1733.

Pietro (Pierre) Gianotti also a double bass player was born in Lucca in the early- eighteenth century, and died in Paris in 1765. [162] Like Saggione, Gianotti appears to have spent much of his career in Paris and claimed to have studied composition with Rameau. He was employed as a double bass player in the Opéra orchestra from 1739 to 1758, but had his his first work, a set of violin sonatas, published in Paris in 1728, suggesting that he was in the city by then. A set of cello sonatas, listed in J.-P. Leclerc's 1751 catalogue as Livre 13, but given in *GMO* as Op. 12, is now lost.

In addition, cello sonatas by several prominent Italian composers were also published in Paris: Giovanni Battista Sammartini, Antonio Vivaldi, Benedetto Marcello, Francesco Geminiani, and Giovanni Battista Somis. Two lesser-known Italian composers, Giovanni Chinzer, and Zuccarini, contributed a set of sonatas each.

157. They appear in Leclerc's 11th catalogue, which, according to Devriès, appeared between 1760 and 1762.

158. These are not listed in any RISM publication.

159. Eleanor Selfridge-Field, 'Fedeli', in *GMO* [accessed 1 March 2011]

160. ibid.

161. ibid.

162. Michelle Fillion, 'Gianotti, Pietro', in *GMO* [accessed 1 March 2011] Fillion is my principal source for this paragraph.

2.5 Composers and Cellists from the Low Countries, Germany, and Bohemia

Italians were not the only foreigners who contributed to French cello playing.

Wenceslaus Spourny was perhaps the most prolific outsider. Little is known of his life and his name suggests he was of Bohemian origin. His foreign nationality not withstanding, his surviving sonatas are among the most Gallic cello works from this era. He is best considered a French composer and figures largely in the discussion of French cello technique in Chapter 4. He published five sets of cello sonatas in Paris of which four appeared in C.-N. Leclerc's catalogues: Op. 4 (catalogue 3, 1741–42; lost); Op. 12 (catalogue 4, 1743); Op. 13 (catalogue 5, 1744; lost); and Op. 14 (also catalogue 5, 1744). A fifth set, the *Sei sonate a due violoncelli* (a self-publication without opus number), was sold through the shops of V^{ve} Boivin and Jean-Pantaléon Leclerc.[163] The title page of Op. 14 describes Spourny as "Compositeur du Feu S.A.S. / Monseigneur / LE PRINCE DE CARIGNAN", indicating both that he had been in the service of Victor Amédée I, Prince de Carignan (1690–1741), and that the set was published after 1741 (and before 1744, the date of the catalogue in which it appeared). Notwithstanding Spourny's foreign nationality, the sonatas themselves are among the most Gallic cello sonatas from this era.

Of the three composers from the Low Countries discussed in this thesis, the most important is Willem de Fesch (1687–1761). Like his contemporaries Klein and Delange, he did not spend any of his career in France, but he did have much of his œuvre, including most of his cello sonatas, distributed there. Like Delange, Fesch had family origins in Liège or its surroundings (although he was born in Alkmaar), and it was in Liège that he spent the early part of his life. Frans Van Den Bremt and Rudolph A. Rasch conjecture that he may have been a choirboy or singer in Liège in his childhood.[164] By 1710 he, together with his brother Pieter, was in Amsterdam, where he stayed until 1725, when he became *Kapelmeester* at Antwerp cathedral. By the early 1730s, he was in London, where he remained for the rest of his life.

Van Den Bremt and Rasch divide Fesch's compositional output into three stages: the Amsterdam period, up to the Op. 4 cello sonatas and therefore including the Op. 3 cello sonatas, is characterized by the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century style, and a search on the part of the composer

163. There is no Op. 9 by Spourny listed in RISM Series A/I; however, SS 4188a is: F-Pn, Sei sonate a due violoncelli.

164. Frans Van Den Bremt and Rudolf A. Rasch, 'De Fesch, Willem' in *GMO* [accessed 28 March 2011]

for "virtuosity and outward brilliance". [165] These, originally published in Amsterdam by Le Cène, were re-published in Paris by C.-N. Leclerc. In the second period, during Fesch's time in Antwerp, this "virtuosity was replaced by simplicity and greater expressiveness". [166] The Op. 8 cello sonatas date from this period, and, together with the violin sonatas with which they are published, are seen as "the outcome of this development" and as "De Fesch's masterpiece". [167] The following London period includes the six cello sonatas published only in Paris (as Op. 1) and the Op. 13 sonatas (which did not appear in any Parisian catalogues). Therefore, Fesch's cello sonatas fall relatively early in our period compared with those of Paris-based composers, most of whose output falls in the 1730s and later.

Van Den Bremt and Rasch describe Fesch's language as "strongly Italian, or more specifically as Vivaldian, in flavour", but note that "his works, particularly those in the smaller genres, show a distinctive personal vein". [168] Undoubtedly it was the highly Italianate nature of Fesch's style which led C.-N. Leclerc to incorporate his works, including the cello sonatas, in his catalogue, and thanks to this, Fesch made one of the largest contributions of any foreigner to the cello music published in Paris at this time. These Italianate sonatas must have influenced the French cellists and composers as they embarked on creating their own repertoire for the instrument.

The Dutch amateur cellist Jacob Klein (1688–1748) composed two sets of cello sonatas (Op. 1 pt. 3 and Op. 4) , as well as a set of duos (Op. 2), all of which were published in Amsterdam. [169] The Op. 1 pt. 3 set was re-published by C.-N. Leclerc and advertised in his catalogues between 1740 and 1767. The other works were not sold in Paris. Little is known of Klein's life. According to Rasch and Van Den Bremt, his career was in commerce, and the supposition that he was an amateur cellist is inferred from the fact that most of his compositions are for the cello. [170]

A set of cello sonatas, Op. 5 by the Liégeois composer and violinist Hermann-François Delange (1715–1781) were advertised in C.-N. Leclerc's

165. ibid.
166. ibid.
167. ibid.
168. ibid.
169. The lost Op. 3 is listed as a set of cello sonatas in Frans Van Den Bremt and Rudolf A. Rasch, 'De Fesch, Willem', in *GMO* [accessed 4 March 2011]
170. Frans Van Den Bremt and Rudolf A. Rasch, 'De Fesch, Willem', in *GMO* [accessed 4 March 2011]

final catalogue (1767).[171] The sonatas are now lost.[172] Most of Delange's career took place in Liège although he also spent some time in Italy. According to Vendrix, Delange "was most active as a composer between 1764 and 1769". Judging from their appearance in C.-N. Leclerc's catalogue, it is likely that the cello sonatas also date from this period, and so they fall at the very end of the period under study.

Jean Noël Massart, also from Liège,[173] had his Op. 1 cello sonatas advertised in the 1751 catalogue of J.-P. Leclerc. His Op. 2 sonatas were not published in Paris, but instead in Liège (by Andrez), Brussels (by J.J. Boucherie) and The Hague (by Gosse junior). The Op. 2 sonatas are dedicated to "Son Altesse Royale, Le Duc de Lorraine, et de Bar", i.e. Stanislas Lezczinsky, in whose service Berteau was employed. However, there is no explicit statement that Massart was also in the Duke's service, making it difficult to ascertain whether he met Berteau or not. Massart also performed once at the *Concert Spirituel*, on 25 April 1745 (see the Table 1.2). The *Mercure* praised his "fin, net et leger" playing.[174]

Only one German musician had cello sonatas published in France in this period: this was Johann Zewalt Triemer (d. 1761). According to van der Straeten, Triemer was born in Weimar; he credits him with being the first German virtuoso cellist. Triemer received his early instruction from Georg Christoph Eylenstein, a cello-playing town musician who in 1706 became a chamber musician to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. Subsequently, he embarked on a concert tour, before settling in Hamburg as a member of the theatre orchestra. In 1726, he moved to Paris, where he studied composition with Boismortier. Already known as a virtuoso, it is likely he performed in the salons in Paris and in the Fair Theatres. In 1729 he travelled to Alkmaar, then to Amsterdam, where he remained until his death in 1761. According to van der Straeten, Triemer published a treatise in Dutch "on the rudiments of music, and the art of violin and violoncello playing"; he also claims that his six cello sonatas were also published in Amsterdam.[175] However, only the Paris edition of the cello sonatas (c. 1738) survives.

171. Philippe Vendrix, 'Liège', in *GMO* [accessed 6 March 2011] notes that Liège was an "independent episcopal principality within the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Empire" which "was annexed to France in 1795 and in 1815 to the Netherlands before becoming part of Belgium (1830). It was the centre of a vast diocese and of a principality that included the towns of Huy, Tongres, Leuven and Maastricht." Although Liège was, and is, a French-speaking city, Delange did not spend any of his career in Paris, or other parts of France, and so for the purposes of this study, he is not considered a French composer.

172. The cello sonatas are not listed in the Work Lists in either Philippe Vendrix, 'Delange, Hermann-François', in *GMO* nor Olivia Wahnon de Oliveira, 'Delange' Hermann-François, in *MGG*, v, pp. 708–709.

173. The title page of his Op. 2 cello sonatas describes him as J. N. Massart de Liege [sic].

174. Cited in Pierre, p. 98.

175. van der Straeten, p. 179.

The French cellists active in Paris in the first half of the eighteenth century came from surprisingly diverse backgrounds. A considerable number originated from the French provinces, including the L'abbé brothers, Barrière, and Berteau. Most of the French cellist-composers devoted their compositional activity exclusively to their chosen instrument; those, like Martin and Giraud, who also composed in large-scale vocal forms were in the minority. None of the French cellists had dual careers as players of the viola da gamba (although Barrière had a secondary interest in the *pardessus de viole,* and Berteau is reported to have abandoned the viol for the cello). This reflects the fact that the two instruments were popular at different times: the viol largely before 1720, and the cello from the 1730s onwards.

French cellists sought employment in a variety of settings; most were employed at the Opéra for part of their careers, although there were exceptions including Berteau. Others served as *maîtres de musique* in provincial churches.

Unsurprisingly, Italy played a large role in the lives of many early French cellists, with some such as Barrière travelling to Italy for further training. Italian cellists, including Lanzetti, were also a significant presence in the French capital. Spourny was one of the few non-Italian foreign cellists to have made their home in Paris, although the cello sonatas of a number of Dutch composers (Fesch, Klein) were published in French editions.

Part II

The Instrument and Repertoire

Chapter 3

The Instrument and Technique

3.1 The Instrument

The cello used for the solo sonatas and other repertoire produced in France at this time was a four-stringed instrument tuned *C–G–d–a*, held on the on the lower legs without an endpin. [1] This may make the French situation unique, as recent research has suggested that in Italy and parts of Germany in the early eighteenth century, a small instrument, held horizontally across the upper body, was the norm. These 'da spalla' instruments, and their possible use in France, are discussed below. Musical evidence in the scores, especially the voicing of chords and the tessitura of string-crossing passages, points to the use of a standard tuning. A few exceptions or ambiguous cases are discussed below. There is no evidence to suggest the instrument was played with frets, as some scholars have suggested. [2]

1. In that sense, it is similar to the current 'baroque' cello.

2. Charles Graves, 'The Theoretical and Practical Method for Cello by Michel Corrette: Translation, Commentary, and Comparison with Seven Other Eighteenth Century Cello Methods', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1971), p. 79, argues that "Corrette advocates the use of frets, either marked on the fingerboard or engraved in the wood. He considers it a great aid to the beginner and goes to the trouble of constructing a table showing the exact places to mark. However, he does confine the use of frets to the beginner and says that the ear of the accomplished musician can be his guide." In fact, Corrette refers to an inlay of mother-of-pearl to mark the position of the fingers, rather than a fret which stops the string: "Faire maquer par un Luthier le nom des notes (ou faire incruster avce [sic] de l'ivoire, ou de la nacre de perle) des lignes transversalles sur le Manche ... ce qui donnera beaucoup de facilité pour apprendre en tres peu de temps a joüer juste" ["Have a luthier mark the names of the notes (or have embossed some ivory, or mother-of-pearl) and transverse lines on the fingerboard ... this will make it much easier to learn to play in tune quickly"] (Corrette, Methode, p. C).

The French School of Lutherie

An independent school of lutherie, known as the *Vieux Paris* school, flourished in Paris in the eighteenth century. Here, we are interested in the makers and their outputs in the early- and mid-century periods. Three important figures dominated the early part of the century: Nicolas Bertrand (c. 1687—1725), Claude Pierray (d. 1729), and Jacques Boquay (c. 1680—1730). There were also a number of lesser-known makers—the Véron brothers, Antoine (b. 1697) and Pierre (c. 1690–1730), as well as Pierre-François Grosset (d. 1756) in Boquay's circle. In the mid-century, there were again three prominent figures: Louis Guersan (c. 1700–1770), Salomon [Jean-Baptiste Dehaye] (1713–1767), and the Italian-born André Castagnery (1696–1747). Again, a number of minor figures were also active. In Guersan's circle were Jacques Dyjacque, alias Henry (1704–1739), Pierre-François Saint Paul (1714–1749), Claude Boivin (c. 1707–1756), and Jean-Nicolas Lambert (1708–1759). Salomon had links with Jean Ouvrard (d. 1748), while Castagnery had family ties with Joseph Gaffino (c. 1725–1786). Most of our knowledge of these makers and their interest in the cello comes from the inventories made after their death. Any definite conclusions about their contribution to the number of cellos is confused by the loose terminology of the inventories. But it is perhaps worth pointing out that the last inventories to list *basses de violon* (as opposed to simply "basses") were those of Pierray and Boquay, both in 1730.[3]

The Luthiers of the Early-Eighteenth Century

Bertrand, the earliest of the eighteenth-century French violin makers, was known primarily as a viol maker, but had already made cellos as well as the more usual *basses de violon* and violas da gamba before his death in 1725. Five *violons de chelles* are noted in the *inventaire après décès* of Bertrand; they are valued at 25 livres each.[4] These probably establish him as the earliest French maker of the instrument. Seven *basses de violon* are also included, valued between 5 and 30 livres each. However, his bass viols sold for up to 100 livres during his lifetime.[5] In contrast, the *inventaire après décès* of Claude Pierray (d. 1730) lists four *basses de violon*, three valued together at 15 livres,

3. It is not known how these inventories were compiled. It seems unlikely that the assessor was well-versed in music. The descriptions of the instruments may have been given to him and the valuation also may have been supplied.

4. Inventaire après le décès de Nicolas Bertrand, 10 November 1725, Min. Centr. XXIX, 329, detailed in Sylvette Milliot, *Histoire de la lutherie parisienne du XVIIIe siècle à 1960*, 3 vols, II: Les luthiers du XVIIIe siècle (Spa: Les Amis de la Musique,1997), p. 320.

5. Milliot, *Histoire, p. 33.*

and one more valued at 4 livres, but no cellos.[6] The thirteen *violoncelles* listed in the *inventaire après décès* of Jacques Boquay (also d. 1730), and valued at 40 livres each, also suggest he is another key figure for cellos made in Paris. Nevertheless, they are outnumbered by the *basses de violon,* which however are worth less than the cellos: sixteen *basses de violon* "tant montées que non montées" are valued at 25 livres each, and an additional four "vielles basses" are valued at 10 livres each.[7]

The two minor luthiers of the early part of the century for whom estate inventories survive also made cellos. Four *violons de chelles* are found in the *inventaire après décès* of Pierre Veron (d. 1731), valued at 90 livres together. There are no *basses de violon* in the inventory.[8] Pierre-François Grosset (d. 1756) appears to have made several different types of cello; included in the estate inventory made after his death are three "violoncelles communs" valued together at 36 livres; two "autres violoncelles" worth 40 livres together; three "violles en violoncelles" valued at 30 livres together, and a "petit violoncelle neuf" worth 12 livres. This varying nomenclature may equate with the now widespread acceptance of the cello. As for Veron, no *basses de violon* appear in the list.[9] The output of the luthiers of the early part of the century is summarized in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Cellos and *basses de violon* in the estate inventories of Bertrand, Pierray, Boquay, and their circle.

Luthier	**Cellos**	**Basses de violon**
Nicolas Bertrand (d. 1725)	5 (25 livres each)	7 (4 at 15 livres [of which two are 30 livres together], 1 at 20 livres, and 2 at 30 livres)
Claude Pierray (d. 1730)	none	4 (three at 15 livres; one at 4 livres)
Jacques Boquay (d. 1730)	13 (40 livres each)	20 (16 at 25 livres; another four "vielles basses" at 10 livres)

6. Inventaire après le décès de Claude Pierray, 3 March 1730, Min. Centr. CXV, 466, detailed in Milliot, *Histoire,* pp. 322–24. That Pierray did make cellos is conformed by the illustration of one dating from 1706. See p. 192.

7. Inventaire après le décès de Jacques Boquay, 2 November 1730, Min. Centr. XXIX, 400, detailed in Milliot, *Histoire,* p. 324.

8. Inventaire après le décès de Pierre Veron, 10 July 1731, Min. Centr. LIV, 783, detailed in Milliot, *Histoire,* p. 325.

9. Inventaire de décès de Pierre-François Grosset, 10 November 1756, Min. Centr. LIV, 870, detailed in Milliot, *Histoire,* p. 326.

Pierre Veron (d. 1731)	4 (90 livres together; an average of 22.5 livres each)	none
Pierre-François Grosset (d. 1756)	9 (3 at 36 livres, two at 40 livres together (average of 20 livres each), 3 "violles en violoncelles" at 30 livres together (average of 10 livres each) and one "petit violoncelle neuf" at 12 livres	none

Louis Guersan and his Circle

Louis Guersan, the half-brother of Boquay, was the leading Parisian violin maker of the mid-century. In this instance we have an inventory made during Guersan's lifetime (1758) that lists 14 new cellos, ready to varnish, valued at 560 livres together. Eight other cellos, 'dont six dud. S. Guersan et un autre de Boquay" are valued at 240 livres together, and four more new cellos "prests a monter de la façon du S. Guersan" are also valued at 240 livres. In addition, there are two "basses" valued at 40 livres, a "basse ordinaire" and a "basse d'hasard", both valued at 20 livres, another "basse d'hasard" valued at 18 livres, and two other basses "faitte par led. S. Guersan" which are valued at 60 livres each. The list is rounded out by two other "basses dont une de M. Quer et une ordinaire" worth 80 livres together.[10] This may represent the contents of his shop, and it also seems to confirm the high totals of the Grosset inventory two years earlier. A second *inventaire,* made after the death of Guersan's wife in 1770, lists five new basses "de la façon dud. S. Guersan" valued at 240 livres together, one "moyenne basse" valued at 30 livres, two "basses non finies" valued at 60 livres together, two basses valued at 30 livres together, two more basses "dont une de la façon du S. Guersan et l'autre de Boquay" at 24 livres each, 12 basses valued at 24 livres each, 5 basses valued at 36 livres each, and two cellos valued at 60 livres together.[11] The *inventaire après décès* made for Guersan later that year lists five "Basses neuves de la façon du Sieur Guersan" valued at 120 livres together; another eight "Basses dont une vieille" worth 168 livres together, and a further 14 "Basses" worth 168 livres. Also listed are two cellos, of which one is finished without the neck (presumably the other is unfinished) valued at 24 livres together,

10. Inventaire du Sieur Guersan, 25 January 1758, Min. Centr. LVI, 326, detailed in Milliot, *L'Histoire,* pp. 329–31.

11. Inventaire après le décès de la delle. Marie Jeanne Zeltener, 12 May 1770, Min. Centr. XXVII, 347, detailed in Milliot, *L'Histoire,* pp. 331–34.

another cello worth 12 livres, and "une petite violoncelle" which together with a violin is worth 19 livres. [12]

A number of the luthiers in Guersan's circle predeceased him. The *inventaire après décès* (1739) of Jacques Dyjacque (alias Henry) lists a total of 14 cellos: five cellos are valued at 150 livres together, "sept autres violons de chelle non finis" at 175 livres together, and two other unfinished cellos valued at 26 and 35 livres each. *Basses* are scarce; there are only two "vieilles basses", which together with two "vieux violons" are worth 45 livres. [13]

It is safe to assume that the simple term "basse" in post-1750 documents refers to the cello, and not to the *basse de violon,* that last appeared in these inventories in 1730. Only *basses* and not *violoncelles* are listed in the *inventaire après décès* of Pierre François de Saint Paul (d. 1750) and that of his widow (d. 1758), who ran the business following his death. [14] Saint Paul's estate inventory lists six "basses de differens auteurs" valued at 480 livres together; a further six "basses de differens auteurs" are valued at 144 livres together, and 16 "basses" are worth 160 livres together. There are also 36 "archets de basses de violon", worth 72 livres together. [15] The *inventaire* made after the death of Pierre François de Saint Paul's widow in 1758 lists 14 "basses" valued at 560 livres together, as well as a "basse du tirol" worth 60 livres. [16] The inventories of the other two luthiers in Guersan's circle (made during their lifetime) also list only "basses" and not "violoncelles". A inventory made of the possessions of Claude Boivin in 1756 lists "deux vieilles basses" valued at 24 livres together; [17] while an inventory for Jean-Nicolas Lambert in 1760 lists five basses worth 120 livres together, and another 36 basses worth 98 livres together, and seven other basses worth 14 livres together. [18]

12. Inventaire après le décès du Sieur Guersan, 25 October 1770, Min. Centr. XXVII, 349, detailed in Milliot, *L'Histoire,* pp. 334–37.

13. Inventaire après le décès de Jacques Dyjacque dit Henry, 8 May 1739, Min. Centr. LIV, 870, detailed in Milliot, *Histoire,* pp. 326–27.

14. The word *basse* as late as 1750 can be assumed to refer to the cello.

15. Inventaire après le décès de Pierre François de Saint Paul, 11 March 1750, Min. Centr. XLIV, 393, detailed in Milliot, *Histoire,* pp. 327–29.

16. Inventaire après le décès du Sieur Pierre François Saint Paul, 28 January 1758, Min. Centr. LXV, 326, detailed in Milliot, *L'Histoire,* pp. 328–29. Milliot notes that the inventory was made at the time of the marriage between M.-J. Zeltener and L. Guersan; in spite of its title, it refers to the property of Pierre François de Saint Paul's widow, who took on the business following the death of her husband.

17. Inventaire de Claude Boivin, 24 December 1756, Min. Centr. XV, 740, detailed in Milliot, *L'Histoire,* pp. 339–40.

18. Inventaire de Jean-Nicolas Lambert, 15 February 1760, Min. Centr. XIV, 369, detailed in Milliot, *L'Histoire,* pp. 340–41. In this case, the low value of the instruments may suggest they were indeed *basses de violon* and may have had little practical use by 1756.

Table 3.2: Cellos and *basses* in the inventories of Guersan and his circle

Inventory	**Cellos**	**Basses**
Henry (1739)	5 (150 liv together) + 7 unfinished (175 together) + 2 unfinished (26 and 35 liv)	2 "vielles basses" which together with two "vieux violons" are worth 45 livres
Saint Paul (1750)	none	6 at 560 livres together; 6 at 144 livres together; 16 at 480 livres together
Claude Boivin (1756)	none	2 "vieilles basses" at 24 livres together
Saint Paul's widow (1758)	none	14 at 560 livres together + a "basse de tirol" at 60 livres
Guersan, during lifetime (1758)	14, ready to varnish, at 560 livres together + 8 at 240 livres together + 4 at 240 livres together	2 at 40 livres together; 2 at 20 livres each [basse ordinaire and basse d'hasard]; 1 basse d'hasard at 18 livres; + 2 basses at 60 livres each; 2 basses at 80 livres together.
Jean-Nicolas Lambert (1760)	none	5 at 120 livres together; 36 at 98 livres together; 7 at 14 livres together.
Guersan, May 1770	2 at 60 liv together	5 "de la façon ... Guersan" at 240 livres; 1 "moyenne basse" at 30 livres; two unfinished at 60 liv together; 2 at 30 liv together; 2 at 24 each; 12 at 24 each; 5 at 36 liv each;
Guersan, Oct 1770	two, unfinished, one without neck, at 24 liv together, one at 12 liv, one "petite violoncelle" which together with a violin is worth 19 liv.	5 at 120 liv; 8 "dont une vieille" at 168 liv; 14 at 168 liv.

Ouvrard and Salomon

The 1748 *inventaire après décès* of Jean Ouvrard includes five "basses de hazard" valued at 18 livres each, as well as a considerable number of parts for "basses", but no cellos.[19] That he did make cellos is conformed by at

19. Inventaire après le décès de Jean Ouvrard, 19 January 1748, Min. Centr. LXXXIV, 435, detailed in Milliot, *L'Histoire,* p. 342.

least one of his instruments being among the five cellos owned by Barrière. [20] The absence of cellos in his estate is possibly explained by the popularity of his instruments in his lifetime.

Salomon, likewise, enjoyed a high reputation among French cellists of the time; his instruments were praised by Patouart, Davesne, L'abbé and Cupis. [21] Two inventories survive of the possessions of Salomon. The first, made following the death of his wife in 1748, lists six "violons de chelle" valued at 360 livres together, but no "basses"; [22] the other, following Salomon's death in 1767, lists only one cello—"un violoncel avec son etuy"—valued at 15 livres, but a number of basses: one "Basse de Loraine" [sic] valued at 4 livres, eight "basses neuves dud. feu S. Salomon" valued at 240 livres, another four "basses d'hazard" valued at 24 livres, a further four "basses d'hazard" valued at 20 livres, six other "basses d'hazard" valued at 24 livres, and one "basse dud. feu S. Salomon" at 18 livres. [23] The wording of this last implies that at least some of the other instruments were not by Salomon himself.

Table 3.3: Cellos and basses in the inventories of Salomon and Ouvrard.

Luthier	**Cellos**	**Basses**
Ouvrard, 1748	none	5 "basses de hazard" at 18 livres each.
Salomon, 1748	6 at 360 livres together (60 liv each)	none
Salomon, 1767	1 "avec son etuy" at 15 livres	1 "basse de lorraine" at 4 livres; 8 "basses neuves" at 30 liv each; 4 "basses d'hazard"at 6 livres each; four more at 5 livres each; six others at 4 livres each; one "basse dud. feu S. Salomon" at 18 livres

20. Milliot, *Le Violoncelle,* I, p. 121. Barrière also owned a *pardessus de viole* by Ouvrard.

21. Milliot, *L'Histoire,* p. 67.

22. Inventaire après le décès de Catherine Anne de Rode, 1 October 1748, Min. Centr. XXXIII, 503, detailed in Milliot, *L'Histoire,* pp. 342–43. At 60 livres each they are probably the most expensive of instruments, along with Guersan—possibly a further indication of his fame as a maker at this time.

23. Inventaire après le décès de Jean Baptiste Deshayes dit Salomon, 3 February 1767, detailed in Milliot, *L'Histoire,* pp. 343–45.

Castagnery and his Circle

Two Italian luthiers, André Castagnery and Joseph Gaffino (c. 1720–1786), also made their home in Paris at this time. They were linked through family ties: Joseph Gaffino was the brother of Castagnery's wife, Ursule Gaffino.

The inventory made after Ursule's death in 1747, occurred at the height of Castagnery's career. At the time, Joseph Gaffino, Ursule's brother, was Castagnery's journeyman. There were a significant number of "violoncelles", but no "basses". Twenty of the cellos were valued at 800 livres together (and average of 40 livres each), while another 23 "de differentes hauteurs" (implying that the first twenty are by Castagnery himself) are valued at 20 livres each. [24]

In contrast, Milliot notes that Gaffino, when he died in 1787, left no instruments of high monetary value. [25] This is certainly the case with the bowed bass instruments in his estate inventory: there are no cellos, but a number of basses: seven "basses" at 100 sols each (35 livres together); a further six basses "dont une de violle" valued at 3 livres each (18 livres together) and three "petites basses d'enfants" valued at 40 livres together. [26] Table 3.4 shows the cellos and basses listed in the workshops of Castagnery and Gaffino at the time the inventories were compiled.

Table 3.4: Cellos and basses in the estate inventories of Ursule Gaffin and Joseph Gaffino.

Luthier	**Cellos**	**Basses**
[Ursule Gaffin] (1747) [27]	20, at 800 livres together [40 livres each]; 23 "de differentes hauteurs" at 20 livres each.	none
Joseph Gaffino, 1787	none	7 basses at 100 sols each; 35 livres together. Six basses "dont une de violle" at 3 livres, 18 liv together. 3 "petites basses d'enfants", 40 sols each; 6 livres together.

24. Inventaire après le décès de Demoiselle Ursule Gaffin, 7 March 1747, Min. Centr. XV, 656, detailed in Milliot, *L'Histoire,* pp. 351–2.

25. Milliot, *L'Histoire,* I, p. 77.

26. Inventaire après le décès du Sieur Ange Amedee Joseph Gaffino, 12 January 1787, Min. Centr. IX, 809, detailed in Milliot, *L'Histoire,* pp. 353–54.

27. Ursule Gaffin (Ursula Gaffino) was the wife of Castagnery, and the sister of Joseph Gaffino. The inventory made after her death is representative of the possessions of André Castagnery in 1747.

Table 3.5 gives a complete summary of the output, in terms of cellos and related instrument, of the luthiers at work in Paris in this period. It also provides average prices of cellos and "basses" as found in their inventories. Although the figures show only unsold instruments, they suggest there were a number of makers at work on the cello in Paris. They also show an increase in both the number and the value of cellos being produced in Paris at precisely the same moment the early solo repertoire was being published.

Table 3.5: Combined table of cellos and basses (with prices) in the inventories of the French luthiers of the early and mid eighteenth century.

Inventory	**Cellos (average price)**	**Basses (average price)**
Nicolas Bertrand (1725)	5 (25 livres)	7 (20 livres)
Claude Pierray (1730)	none	4 (12.25 livres)
Jacques Boquay (1730)	13 (40 livres)	20 (22 livres)
Veron (1731)	4 (22.5 livres)	none
Henry (1739)	5 (30 livres) [28]	(11.25 livres) [29]
Ursule Gaffin [Castagnery] (1747)	43 (29.3 livres)	none
Ouvrard (1748)	none	5 (18 livres) [30]
Salomon (1748)	6 (60 livres)	none
Saint Paul (1750)	none	28 (42.3 livres)
Grosset (1756)	9 (21.1 livres)	none
Claude Boivin (1756)	none	2 "vielles basses" (12 livres)
Saint Paul's widow (1758)	none	15 (incl. a "basse de tirol") (41.3 livres)
Guersan (1758)	26 (40 livres)	9 (33.1 livres)
Lambert (1760)	none	48 (4.8 livres)
Salomon (1767)	1 (15 livres)	24 (13.8 livres)
Guersan (1770)	2 (30 livres)	27 (30.2 livres) [31]
Guersan (1770b)	2 (10.75 livres)	27 (11.2 livres)
Joseph Gaffino (1787)	none	16 (3.7 livres)

*

28. This figure excludes the unfinished cellos in the inventory.

29. This calculated based on item listed as 2 "vielles basses" which together with two "vieux violons" are worth 45 livres. The average here assumes that each of the four instruments had a similar value. In reality, it is likely that the basses were worth more than the violins, due to their size.

30. All "basses de hazard".

31. Excluding unfinished instruments.

The four-string *violoncelle* was not the only cello-type instrument in France; professional cellists in France would have been familiar with several related instruments, of which the five-string cello and the *violoncello da spalla* may be postulated for the performance of the solo repertoire. The cello's most direct precedent in Parisian musical life was the *basse de violon.*[32] In its most common form it was an instrument larger than the cello, tuned a tone lower, *B♭'–F–c–g.* Corrette makes the comparison between the two instruments in his *Méthode,* noting that "Depuis environ vingtcinq ou trente ans, on a quitté la grosse basse de Violon montée en sol pour le Violoncelle des Italiens ... son accord est d'un ton plus haut que l'ancienne Basse, ce qui lui donne beaucoup plus de jeu ... Le Violoncelle est beaucoup plus aisé a joüer que la basse de Violon des anciens, son patron etant plus petit, et par consequent le manche moins gros, ce qui donne toute liberté pour joüer les basses difficiles, et même pour executer des pièces qui sont aussi bien sur cet instrument que sur la Viole".[33] This four-string *basse de violon* was not used in France to play solo sonatas;[34] its role was to provide the bass line in ensembles. As the cello came to replace the *basse de violon* in French ensembles in the first two decades of the eighteenth century, the players of the larger instrument would have transfered their technique to the newer instrument. Perhaps the most notable legacy of this was the use of the overhand bow hold, favoured by players of the *basse de violon* among French cellists at a time when the underhand bow hold was still common in Italy and Germany.[35]

Iconographical sources indicate that the *basse de violon* was relatively standardized from the late sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, with "a waist high body and a long neck ... played either seated or standing".[36]

32. The most exhaustive study of the *basse de violon* to date is Gyongy Iren Erodi, 'The sixteenth-century *basse de violon:* fact or fiction? Identification of the bass violin (1535-1635)' (unpublished master's thesis, University of North Texas, 2009) <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc12121/>

33. "Around 25 or 30 years ago, we abandoned the large *basse de violon* tuned in G for the *violoncelle* of the Italians ... it is tuned a tone higher than the old basse, which gives it a lot of spirit ... The *violoncelle* is a lot easier to play than the *basse de violon* of former times, it being smaller in size, and as a result the fingerboard not as large, which gives one freedom to play difficult bass parts, and ever to perform solos, which sound just as good on this instrument as on the viol". Corrette, *Méthode,* p. A.

34. Jacob Klein's Op. 1 sonatas (c. 1716–21), described on the title page of the Roger print as for "une basse de violon et basse continue", are for a cello tuned a tone higher than usual, *D–A–e–b.*

35. Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London: Beckett, 1773; repr. New York: Broude, 1969), p. 142, commented on Vandini's use of the underhand bow, noting that "It is remarkable that Antonio [Vandini] and all the other violoncello players here [Italy], hold the bow in the old fashioned way, with the hand under it".

36. Michael D. Greenberg, 'Perfecting the Storm: The Rise of the Double Bass in France, 1701–1815' *Online Journal of Bass Research,* 1 (2003), <http://www.ojbr.com/volume-1-number-1.asp> [accessed 28 June 2012] (para. 2.8)

When played seated, the large size of the instrument meant that it rested directly on the floor.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a *basse de violon à cinq cordes* was also used in Paris. Both four- and five- stringed basses de violon were used together in the Opéra orchestra. A storm scene from Jean-Baptiste Matho's opera *Arion* (1714) uses four- and five- string basses de violon playing different parts, together with bassoons. On the first page of the manuscript of the storm scene, in what is possibly a later rehearsal marking, the names of the instruments are crossed out; the top line is reassigned to "les huit basses de viollon" referring to both four- and five-stringed varieties; the second line to all the bassoons, and the lowest part to the "basses de violon à l'octave, Mr. de Monteclair, Mr. Theobalde et 2 serpens" (Example 3.1).[37] The part originally assigned to the *basses de violon à cinq cordes* is indistinguishable in terms of technique from that for the four-string *basses de violon.*

The *basse de violon à cinq cordes* had a small solo role in addition to its use in the Opéra orchestra. It is included in Charpentier's *Sonate pour 2 flûtes allemandes, 2 dessus de violon, une basse de viole, une basse de violon à 5 cordes, un clavecin et un théorbe* (1685), where it is given an Italianate solo (Example 3.2) in contrast to the French-style one for the viol (Example 3.3), thus suggesting that this instrument, like the cello, was associated with Italy. This suggestion is supported by the fact that Théobalde de Gatti (d. 1727), known for his playing of the instrument, wrote operas associated with the Italian style.

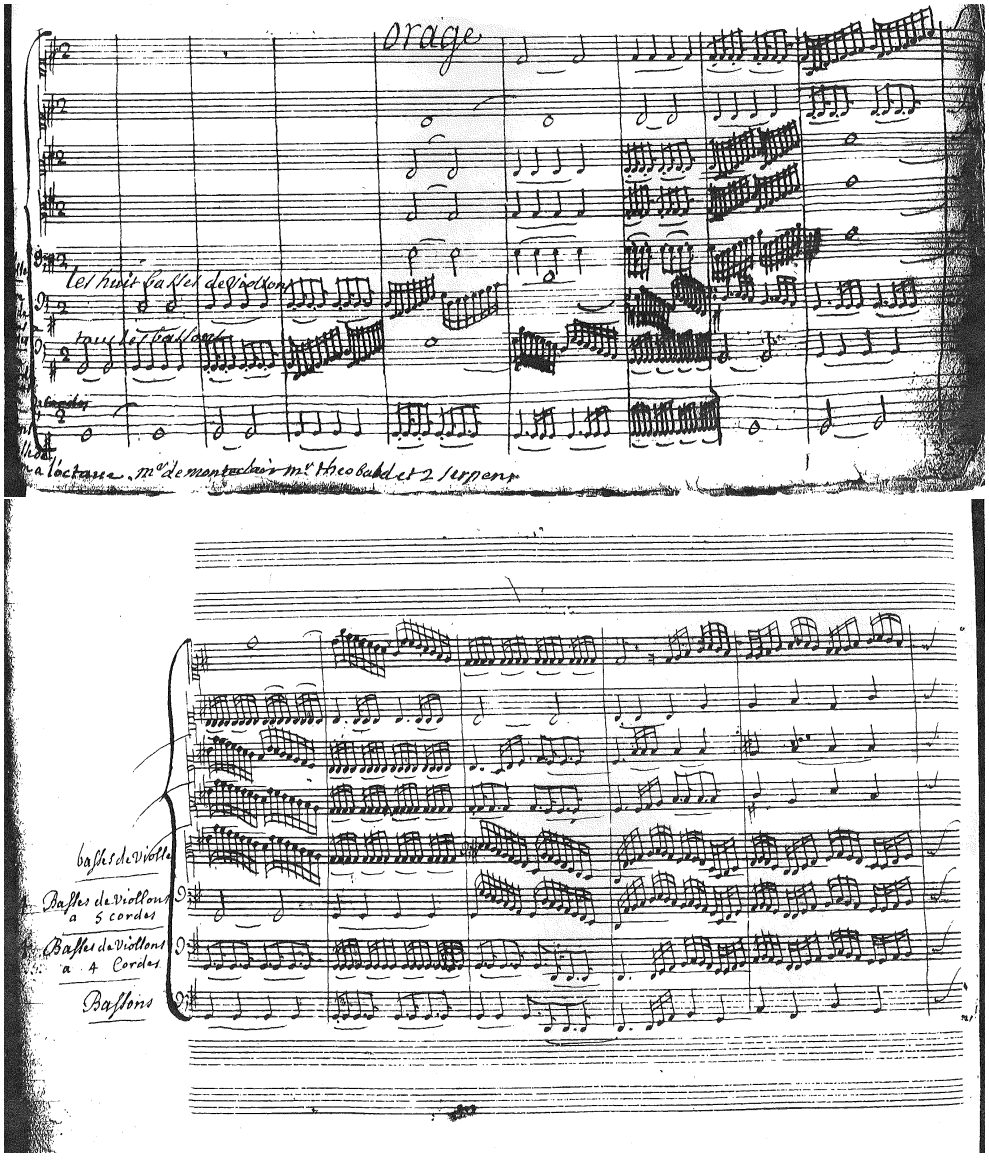
Primary sources are silent on the size and tuning of the *basse de violon à cinq cordes*. Cyr argues that it was large, similar in size to the four-string *basse de violon*. She cites iconographical sources, including Dirk Hals's painting *Das Solo*, which depict large five-stringed bass violins (Figure 3.1).[38] She also conjectures that the tuning was *C–G–d–a–d'*, presumably following Laborde's description of the cello, which he states was originally a five-string instrument.[39]

The notion that a Father Tardieu invented the cello in Provence no longer stands up to scholarly scrutiny, and it is debatable how common five-string

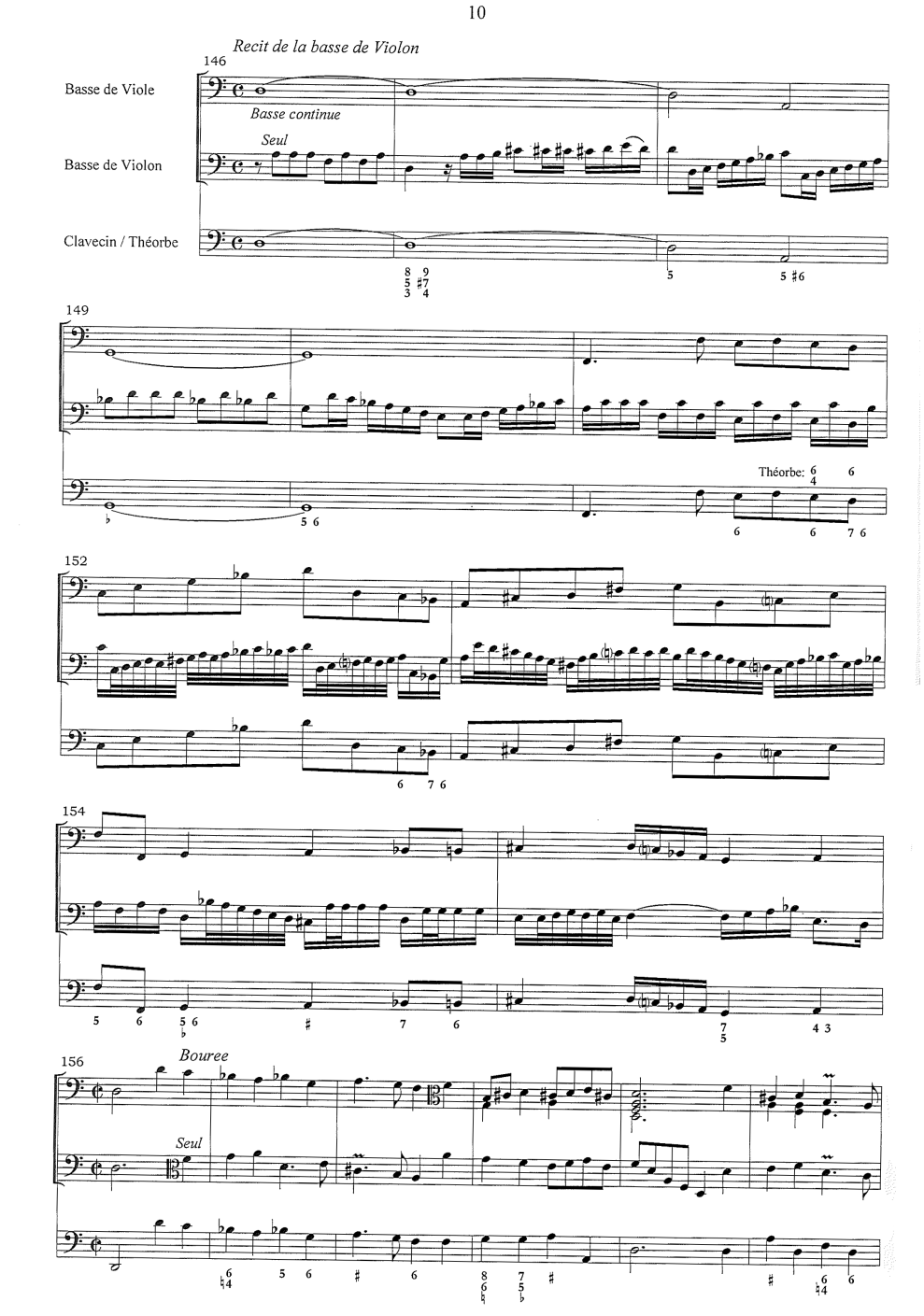
37. This is also cited in Mary Cyr, '*Basses* and *basse continue* in the Orchestra of the Paris Opera 1700-1764', *Early Music,* 10, (1982), 155–70 (pp. 160–161).

38. Cyr, '*Basses* and *basse continue*', p. 158; image given on p. 160.

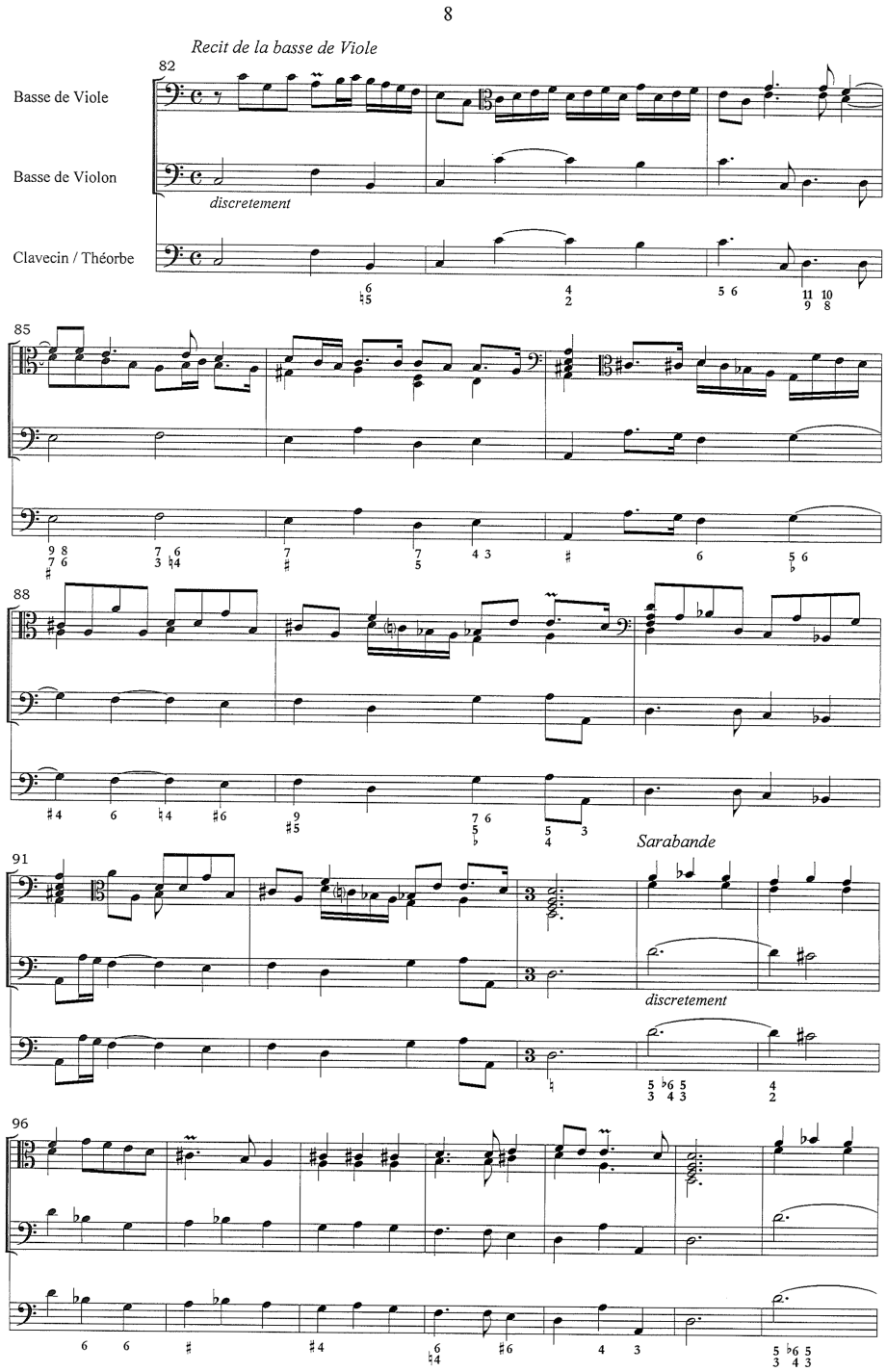
39. Jean Benjamin Laborde, *Essai sur la musique* (Paris: 1780), p. 133. "Le P. Tardieu, de Tarascon, frere d'un célebre Maître de Chapelle de Provence, l'imagina, vers le commencement de ce siecle; il le monta de cinq cordes ... Il fit une prodigieuse fortune avec cet instrument, dont il jouait bien. Quinze ou vingt ans après, on réduisit le Violoncelle à quatre cordes, en lui ôtant sa chanterelle *re*" ("Fr. Tardieu, of Tarascon, brother of a famous *Maître de chapelle* in the provinces, invented it, around the beginning of this century; he gave it five strings ... he made a tremendous fortune with this instrument, which he played well. Fifteen or 20 years afterwards, the cello was reduced to four strings, by removing its high D-string"). Laborde gives the tuning of the five-string instrument as *C–G–d–a–d'*. It is unclear whether Laborde was referring to a large *basse de violon* with five strings, or to a separate smaller instrument.



Example 3.1: Jean-Baptiste Matho, opening of the storm scene from *Arion*, Act III, scene iii (1714). Source: F-Po, A.88b



Example 3.2: Opening of the *Recit de la basse de Violon* from Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Sonate pour 2 flutes Allemandes, 2 dessus de Violon, une basse de Viole, une basse de Violon a 5 cordes, un Clavecin et un Teorbe*, ed. by Alessandro Bares (Albese con Cassano: Musedita, 2010), p. 10.



Example 3.3: Opening of the *Recit de la basse de Viol*e from Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Sonate pour 2 flutes Allemandes, 2 dessus de Violon, une basse de Viole, une basse de Violon a 5 cordes, un Clavecin et un Teorbe*, ed. by Alessandro Bares (Albese con Cassano: Musedita, 2010), p. 8.

Figure 3.1: Dirk Hals (1591–1656), *Das Solo* (Gemäldegalerie de Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna). Source: <http://www.greatbassviol.com/iconography/hals2.jpg> [accessed 29 July 2012].

cellos were in France. However, there is further evidence of their existence in the the earliest French description of the cello in Sébastien de Brossard's *Dictionnaire,* where he portrays the *violoncello* as "proprement nôtre Quinte de Violon [a large tenor viola], ou une Petite Basse de Violon à cinq ou six Chordes." [40] The entry is paraphrased by Mattheson in 1713 and by Walther in 1732, who is the first to comment on four-sting cellos, adding that the four-stringed ones are tuned like a viola, *C–G–d–a,* and go up as high as A. [41] There is also a surviving five-string instrument by Giuseppe Gaffino; its label indicates that it was made in Paris in 1748 (Figure 3.2). With a total length of 117 cm and a body length of 70.8 cm, it is certainly not one of the large five-string *basses de violon* discussed above. [42]

It is clear that five-string cellos were known in Paris, but it is uncertain that they would have been used for the solo sonata repertoire. [43] Certainly, there are passages in some early French sonatas which are difficult to play with the modern instrument and technique, and which could thus suggest a fifth string and/or different tunings. These passages comprise either difficult double-stops or chords which would be facilitated by an extra string; wide leaps which involve constant shifting, or extensive use of the upper register. Most of these occur in the Barrière sonatas, and some have attracted previous comment. Cyr has suggested that the final sonata in Livre III "and possibly others may have been written for the cello piccolo". [44] Anthony Pleeth has also conjectured a five-string tuning, and claiming that some of Barrière's writing is "almost impossible to play, even after trying different tunings and thinking how it might work with five strings". [45]

40. Sébastien de Brossand, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1703). That Brossard provides this reference to other instruments suggests that the cello was not well-known in France and needed a careful explanation.

41. "Die viersaitigten werden wie eine Viola, C. G. d. a gestimmt und gehen bis ins a." Walther, *Musikalishes Lexicon* (Leipzig: Deer, 1732; repr. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993): p. 637.

42. Walden, *One Hundred Years,* p. 60, n. 44. Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp and J. H. van de Meer, *The Carel Van Leeuwen Boomkamp Collection of Musical Instruments* (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1971): pp. 22-23. The Stradivari 'Forma B' model created in 1710 and considered standard today, measures 75.8 cm. However, small cellos were not uncommon in the eighteenth century; Giovanni Battista Guadagnini (1711–1786), as a result of collaboration with Carlo Ferrari, consistently made cellos with a 71.1 body length in the 1750s and 1760s.

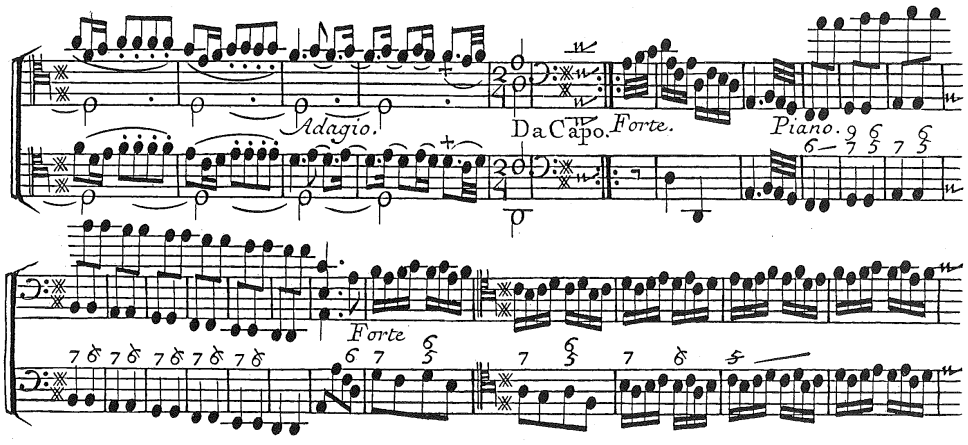
43. The problem is compounded by the fact that it is possible to play music for a four-stringed cello on one with five-strings, and indeed much of the repertoire for five-stringed cello can be played (with some difficulty) on four (witness the many excellent modern performances of Bach's 6th suite, or Schubert's 'Arpeggione' sonata, composed for a 6-string fretted arpeggione). However, it is normally quite clear which instrument is intended, as the writing will exploit the open strings and natural sonority of any tuning.

44. Mary Cyr, 'Barrière, Jean', in *GMO* [accessed 23 September 2010]. The violoncello piccolo is commonly understood to be a small cello with five strings tuned *C–G–d–a–e'*.

45. Paul A. Laird, *The Baroque Cello Revival: An Oral History* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004), p. 205. Pleeth also states that "given the technical difficulty of some of the music . . . he [Barrière] might have tied frets on his instrument".

Figure 3.2: Five-string cello made in Paris by Giuseppe Gaffino (1748). Source: C. Van Leeuwen Boomkamp and J. H. Van Der Meer, *The Carel Van Leeuwen Boomkamp Collection of Musical Instruments* ((Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1971), p. 48

Viewed from this perspective, one of the most intriguing passages can be found in the final movement of Sonata IV in Livre I of Barrière (Example 3.4). On a four-string instrument with the standard tuning, the passage can only be performed by shifting between each note, a very unidiomatic practice. With the lower notes played on the C-string and the upper notes on the A-string, the stretch is too large for the hand. Moreover, the leaps are to the extremities of the baroque fingerboard. With a five-string cello, the passage can be played across the strings. On the other hand, a performer who could pull off this feat would certainly have won the admiration of his audience and peers.

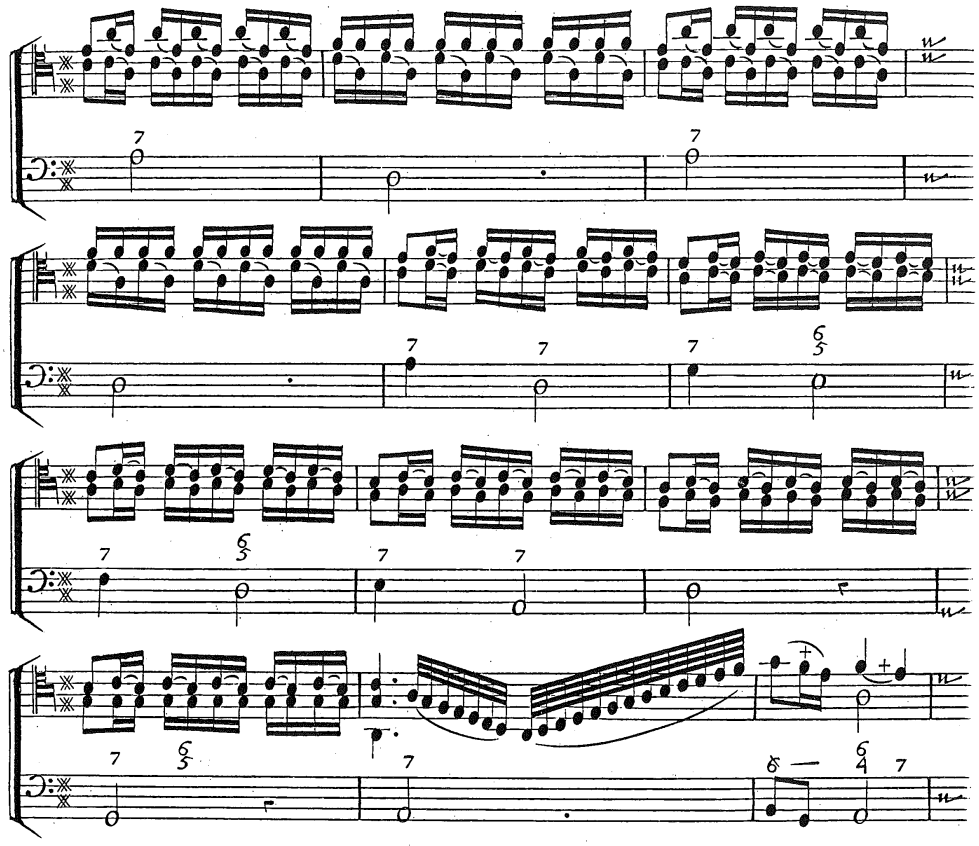


Example 3.4: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata IV, *Allegro.* Location: Page 25, Systems 4–5.

Besides this example, there are a number of other passages in Barrière's sonatas which are sufficiently awkward to suggest that they may have been intended for a five-string instrument. These include, for example, extended runs of parallel thirds (Example 3.5). A fifth string tuned to *d'*, as described by La Borde, reduces the interval between the top two strings to a fourth, facilitating the playing of thirds (as long as one can play the entire passage on the top two strings). The tuning of the highest two strings is then in fact identical to that of the viola da gamba; if such a tuning were ever used in a solo context, it may have facilitated cellists to perform pieces originally written for viol. Yet although this tuning may appear a tempting solution to the problem, it still does not overcome the fact that such thirds passages in the Barrière sonatas descend below the pitch where the tuning is useful.[46] Use of a diatonic (violin-style) fingering would hypothetically eliminate the

46. This is most likely the reason for Anthony Pleeth's suggested *C–G–d–g–c'* tuning.

difficulties, but would make the stretches between the fingers uncomfortably large, unless the string length were significantly shorter.

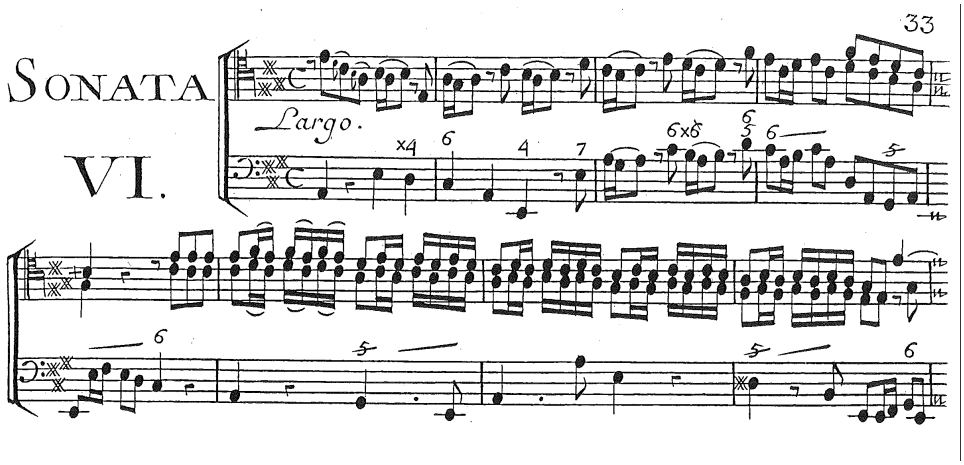


Example 3.5: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata I, *Andante,* showing extended parallel thirds.

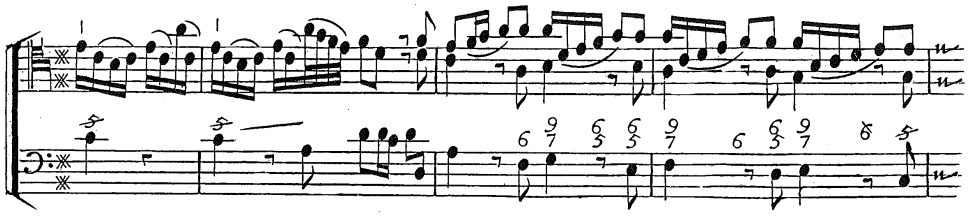
Example 3.7 shows another double-stop passage (not involving thirds) which is facilitated by the use of a higher string. This passage is fairly simple to play with a modern thumb-position fingering, but, assuming that thumb position was not used at this time (it is not required elsewhere in Livre I or II), to play this passage in neck positions involves very awkward fingerings, and yet falls naturally under the hand if an *e′* or *d′* string is used. [47]

A further difficulty lies in the performance of two chords that appear towards the end of the opening movement of Sonata I in Livre I which demand a large stretch unmanageable on a standard instrument (Example 3.8, first two chords). In the first chord, the low *c*♯ is played with the fourth finger and the *e* must be played with the second finger, as the *a*♯ is played with the first finger. This necessitates a stretch of a major third between the

47. The passage falls more naturally under the hand with an *e′* string than with a *d′* string.

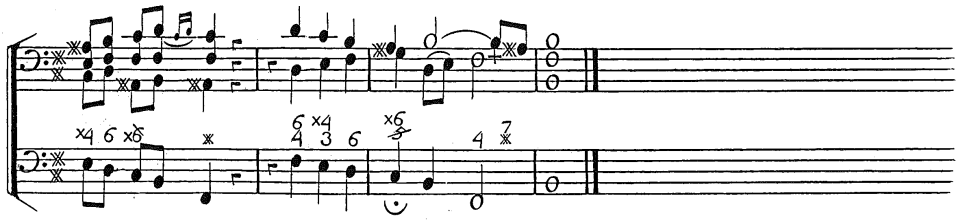


Example 3.6: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata VI, Largo

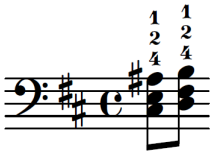


Example 3.7: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata I, *Allegro.* Location: page 3, system 4.

second and fourth fingers. The second chord is similar, except that here the stretch is a minor third (Example 3.9). An additional *d′* or *e′* string would not alleviate the problem, since the passage lies below the range of that string. Again, Pleeth's suggested tuning would solve the fingering problem; however, beyond these two examples, there is no other evidence for the use of such a tuning elsewhere in the sonata or the set that makes use of its considerable chordal possibilities. It is these passages demanding large stretches below the tessitura of a hypothetical *d′* or *e′* string that suggest a cello with a short string length (no greater than 60 cm) was used by Barrière. If we allow this, the difficult passages just discussed and which might suggest the use of a fifth string become practical on a cello with a short string-length, thus facilitating violin-style diatonic fingerings in the lowest positions. The passages are confined to Livre I and II; after these Barrière may have used a cello with a longer string length. When Corrette published his *Méthode* in 1741, he specified the use of violin-style fingerings only above the third position.



Example 3.8: Barrière, Sonata I, Livre I, *Adagio.* Location: page 1, system 5.

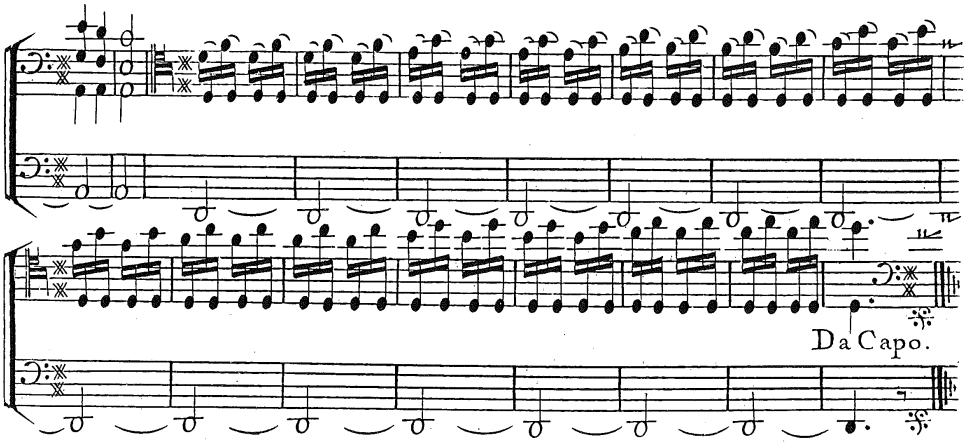


Example 3.9: Fingering for the first two chords of Ex. 3.8 if a standard four-string cello is used

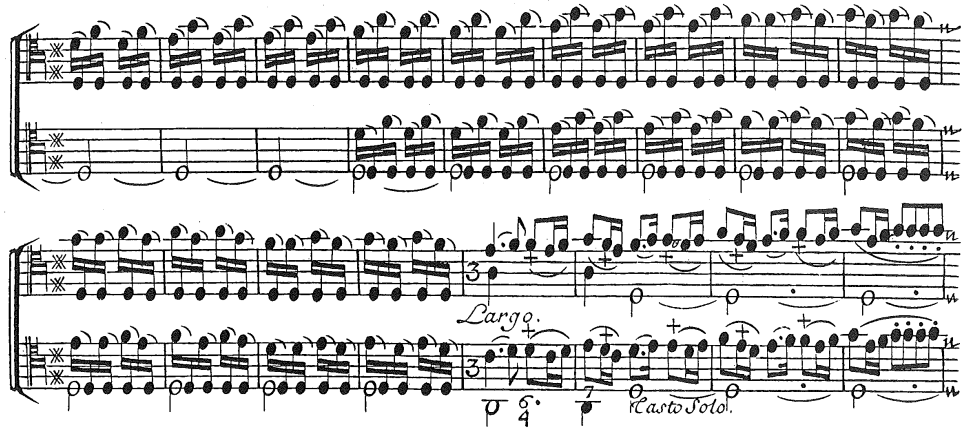
Passages in several sonatas in Livre I strongly suggest that a standard four-string tuning was used. *Batterie* string-crossings are clearly written to be played across the D- and A-strings. For example, in Ex. 3.10 the player would have to skip across an unused A-string if a five-string instrument were used. Following this is a double-stop passage which uses the open D-string as a drone; it makes little sense to play this passage on the duller inner strings as would be required on a five-string cello. Moreover, similar passages that use the A-string as a drone, which would be natural writing on the five-string instrument, are rare (Example 3.11).

The voicing of chords also indicates the standard tuning. Five-note chords are completely lacking, and chords that could be played on the highest three strings of a five-string cello are extremely rare. Those that do occur are so voiced that they can be played in one position on a conventionally-tuned cello. Generally, the overall tessitura of the sonatas lies too low for an instrument with a high *d′* or *e′* string. For example, the opening movement of Sonata I in Livre I has only ten notes above *d′*, which can all be comfortably accommodated on the A-string; the movement never rises above *f♯′*.

It is passages such as have been described here, demanding large stretches below the tessitura of the *d′* and *e′* string, that suggest an alternative solution lies in the hypothesis that Barrière used a cello with a short string-length. A sufficiently short string length would allow the use of diatonic violin-style fingerings in all positions, facilitating the chords and thirds passages that are difficult with a standard string length. This may be one of the reasons



Example 3.10: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata I, *Allegro.* Location: page 7, systems 5–6.



Example 3.11: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata IV, *Aria Amorosa.* Showing *batterie* between D string and higher pitches, followed by D string drone.

Barrière owned five cellos, using smaller instruments for solo performances and larger ones for playing in the orchestra of the Opéra. It was common throughout the eighteenth century for cellists to use different instruments for solo and ensemble performance, with the solo instrument being strung more lightly. Using a smaller instrument with a shorter string length is a logical extension of this practice. The fact that Claude Pierray, one of the most important of the early French luthiers, is known for making cellos with small dimensions hints further towards this practice. [48]

48. Charles Beare and Sylvette Milliot, 'Pierray, Claude' in *GMO* [accessed 30 July 2012] note that "Pierray made a number of fine cellos, though some would criticize their rather small dimensions".

*

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a number of bowed bass instruments were used in Paris. The large, four-stringed basse de violon, tuned *B♭–F–c–g* had been the foundation of ensembles such as the *Vingt-quatre violons du Roi* throughout the seventeenth century, but lost its importance by the 1720s. The smaller *violoncelle,* tuned a tone higher, originated in Italy and was made in increasing numbers by French luthiers from Bertrand to Guersan.

There is evidence for the existence of five-stringed cellos (as well as five-stringed basses de violon), although these most likely played a peripheral role. Passages in the French solo repertoire that may suggest a five-string cello (to accommodate awkward chords or high-register passages) are outweighed by other musical evidence within those sonatas that confirms the standard four-string tuning. It is therefore likely that the difficult chords and stretches were accommodated by means of a short string length, rather than a fifth string.

3.2 Technique

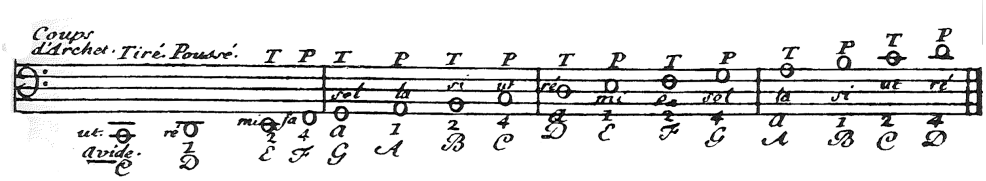
Left-Hand Technique

Corrette's *Méthode* is the only extant French source that discusses cello fingering before the second half of the eighteenth century. Corrette begins his fingering patterns with a C-major scale in the first position (Example 3.12).[49] Curiously, the third finger is never used, so that the 2–4 sequence is used even for an interval of a semitone. Even where chromatic notes are included, Corrette still instructs the player to use this fingering, always omitting the third finger (Example 3.13).

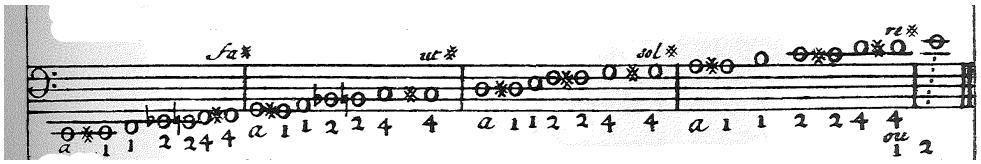
From the third position, Corrette instructs the cellist to cease all use of the fourth finger, and instead to use the third finger. A whole tone must then be stretched between the second and third finger, as in modern violin playing (Example 3.14). Corrette provides an example to demonstrate this fingering system is used in practice, with the total avoidance of the third finger in the first two positions, and of the fourth finger in the third and fourth positions (Example 3.15).

In Chapter 13, subtitled "En quelle occasion on doit se servir du pouce, et de la maniere de joüer les dessus sur le Violoncelle", Corrette discusses he thumb position, although it is not used in the exercises in the *Méthode*. The thumb position is described principally for one position, with the thumb on

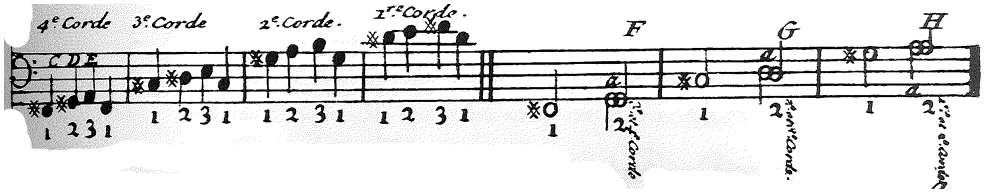
49. This fingering can be called diatonic fingering, since one playing finger is used for each note of the scale.



Example 3.12: Corrette, *Méthode,* p. 14.



Example 3.13: Corrette, *Méthode,* p. 21. Fingering for a chromatic scale in first position, excepting the final note.



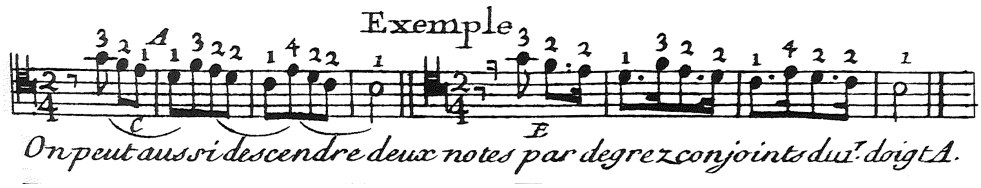
Example 3.14: Corrette, *Méthode,* p. 21, fingering pattern in the third position.

e′ on the A-string (Example 3.16; the upper stave shows the correspondence with violin fingering). Corrette elaborates that in this thumb position, "on joüe le Violoncelle comme le Violon, desorte que le pouce a cette position met les 4 cordes du Violoncelle a l'Octave audessous des 4 cordes du Violon."[50] He explains that if one needs to go higher, the thumb must always be kept a fourth behind "la note qu'on aura à joüer".[51] Corrette even claims that by using the thumb in this way, one will be able to play the treble parts of violin sonatas, the thumb taking the place of the nut. It is unclear whether this relatively uncomfortable position was used widely to play entire sonatas; even at that time cellists would have preferred to shift up and down the neck positions, using this thumb position just where necessary.

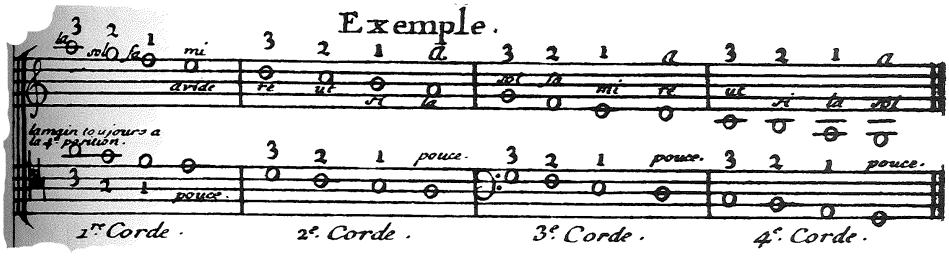
Only after establishing this fingering system does Corrette propose an alternative fingering for the neck positions; this alternative corresponds to the modern fingering pattern (Example 3.17). However, he does not recommend

50. "One plays the cello like the violin, in the sense that the thumb in this position puts the four strings of the cello an octave lower than the four strings of the violin." Corrette, *Méthode,* p. 41.

51. ibid. Literally, "the note one will have to play". This seems to imply the note is to be played with the third finger.

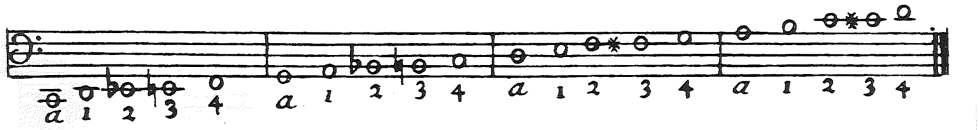


Example 3.15: Corrette, *Méthode,* p. 34. All four positions are used in this example.



Example 3.16: Corrette, *Méthode, p. 41,* showing instructions for thumb position.

its use, except for playing diminished fifths (Example 3.18). His reasons are that it does not correspond with the violin fingering, making it difficult for violinists to play the cello, and that it prevents the playing of fast passages ("elle arrête tout court celui qui s'en sert dans les vitesses").[52] Corrette names it "la position des Anciens" and claims that "cette position est un restegotique des grosses Basses de Violon montées en sol qui sont Excluës de l'Opèra et de tous les pays Etrangers",[53] suggesting that it was used as the standard *basse de violon* fingering.



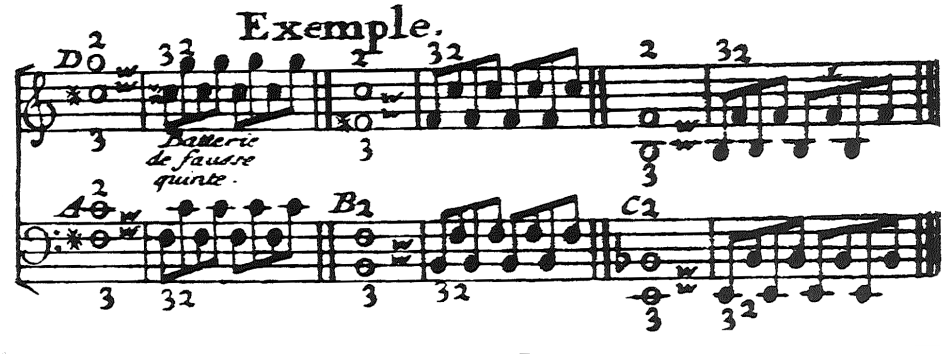
Example 3.17: Corrette, Méthode, p. 42.

Notwithstanding Corrette's dismissal of the chromatic fingering technique, it was adopted in the second half of the eighteenth century, and was standard by the time of Cupis's *Méthode* (1772).[54] It remains uncertain

52. Corrette, *Méthode,* p. 43.

53. ibid. "This position is a legacy of the large *basses de violon* tuned in G which are excluded from the Opéra and from all foreign countries."

54. François Cupis (le jeune), *Méthode nouvelle et raisonnée* (Paris: Le Menu, 1772; repr. in *Violoncelle: Méthodes et traités, dictionnaires, préfaces des œuvres,* ed. by Philippe Lescat and Jean Saint-Arroman, Méthodes et Traités 2, Série I: France 1600–1800 (Courlay: Fuzeau, 2004), p. 67–89.



Example 3.18: Corrette, Méthode, p. 43.

whether the virtuoso cellists used Corrette's fingering system, or whether it was only for amateurs, and possibly those transferring from the violin. The use of diatonic fingering patterns above the third position makes passages in the French sonatas more playable, but only if the fourth finger is also used. On the other hand, the unwieldy omission of the third finger in the lower positions, which then requires a semitone to be played between the second and fourth fingers, causes tension in the hand. It seems unlikely that players trained on either the *basse de violon* or the viola da gamba, both of which use a chromatic fingering pattern involving all four fingers, would have ceased using the third finger when they took up the cello.

The Bow Hold

The technique of holding the bow falls into two broad categories: underhand and overhand. Outside of France, the underhand bow grip was the most commonly used for all players of bass violin-family instruments (including the cello) until the second half of the eighteenth century.[55] In France, the *basse de violon* players in Lully's ensembles used an overhand hold in conformity with the shoulder-held instruments (*dessus, haute-contre, taille* and *quinte de violon*).[56] This was already standard by 1698, as Georg Muffat observed; he associated it with the "Lullists":

> In Angreifung dess Bogens kommen die meisten Teutschen in den kleinen und mittern Geigen mit den Lullisten über eins, indeme die die Haare mit dem Daumen andrucken, und die andere Finger auf dess Bogens Rucken legen. Welche Weise auch

55. See Mark Smith, 'The Cello Bow Held the Viol Way: Once Common, But Now Almost Forgotten', *Chelys,* 24 (1995), 47–61 and Walden, *One Hundred Years,* pp. 79–80. Walden suggests the overhand grip may have been more common in Italy than in Germany.

56. ibid.

> bey dem Bass von denen Lullisten ins Gemein gehalten wird, und seynd hierinnen, was die kleine Geigen antrifft, die Welschen, als welche die Haar unberührt lassen, wie auch in dem Bass die Gambisten und andere, so die Finger zwischen das Hotlz und die Haar legen, unterschieden. [57]

Possibly some players outside the influence of these prestigious ensembles used the underhand grip, although it is likely that any players aspiring to eventual membership would have adopted their bow hold.

By the time of Corrette's *Méthode* in 1741, the underhand grip had so faded from view that Corrette does not mention it at all. This seems particularly significant for a treatise aimed in part at viol players wishing to change to the cello. Even more significantly, he proposes three variants of the overhand grip. The first, 'most used by the Italians', [58] has the second, third, fourth, and fifth fingers placed as indicated by the letters ABCD (see Figure 3.3), with the thumb underneath the third finger, on letter E. [59] The second method is to put the second, third, and fourth fingers on the letters ABC, the thumb on the hair on letter F, and the little finger on the opposite side of the wood, on the letter G. The third method is to hold the bow at the frog, with the second, third and fourth fingers on the letters HIK, the thumb under the hair on the letter L, and the little finger on the opposite side of the wood, on letter M. Corrette elaborates that the three different methods are "également bonnes" and that one should choose the one "avec la quelle on a plus de force". [60]

Beyond this, little can be surmised about the ways Barrière, Masse, Martin, Patouart, or most of the early French cellists held their bows. However, for Berteau, it is reasonable to assume that he used the first variant described by Corrette, as that is the only grip set out in the methods written by his pupils.

According to Cupis, "The bow is held in the right hand, near the frog. The four fingers are placed on top of the stick and quite advanced, so that

57. Georg Muffat, *Florilegium secundum für Streichinstrumente,* ed. by Heinrich Rietsch, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, IV (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt Graz, 1959), p. 21, cited in Walden, *An Investigation,* I, pp. 63–64. "Most Germans agree with the Lullists on the holding of the bow for the violins and violas; that is, pressing the thumb against the hair and laying the other fingers on the back of the bow. It is also generally held in this was for the bass by the Lullists, they differ from the Italian practice, which concerns the small violins, in which the hair is untouched, and from that of the bass gambists and others in which the fingers lie between the wood and the hair." English translation from *Georg Muffat on Performance Practice: The Texts from 'Florilegium Primum', 'Florilegium Secundum', and 'Auserlesene Instrumentalmusik': A New Translation with Commentary,* ed. and trans. by David Wilson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), p. 33.

58. Corrette is confusing, as iconographical evidence shows Italian cellists using an underhand grip. See Mark Smith, 'An Iconographical Study of the Early Violoncello' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Flinders University, 1983). Possibly Corrette means the first of his three ways was that used by those Italians who played in the overhand grip.

59. Corrette numbers the thumb as the first finger; the index as the second finger, etc.

60. Corrette, *Méthode,* p. 8.

Figure 3.3: Diagram of the bow from Corrette's *Méthode,* p. 8.

the index and ring finger can easily touch the hair, as it is the index finger which gives all the force to the bow it should be more advanced than the other fingers on the hair. The thumb is placed on the other side of the stick between the index and ring finger, the hair of the bow on the bridge side, and the stick quite elevated so that it does not touch the strings. Nothing gives more fluency to the wrist, and even more grace in playing, than to hold the elbow a little elevated and to get in the habit, from the beginning, of using the whole bow. There must be no constriction in the arm; that is a fault which impedes the freedom of the bow and prevents one from drawing beautiful sounds from the instrument. There must always be a natural suppleness in the wrist in drawing the bow." [61] As to the placement of the bow on the string, Cupis continues, "One should place the bow on the string around two inches from the bridge: that is the natural position of the bow, whence one can draw all the sound that the instrument can produce, by making the string vibrate by drawing the bow in a straight line. And on the contrary if you want to lessen, or sweeten the tone quality, you must imperceptibly move the bow away from the bridge towards the fingerboard, lessening also the pressure of the bow on the string; that is what softens the sound of the instrument to the point which one desires. The closer the bow approaches the fingerboard, the more the sound weakens." [62] This placement of the bow

61. Cupis, *Méthode raisonnée,* pp. 1–2. "L'archet se tient de la main droite près la hausse les quatre doigts par dessus la baguette et assez avancée pour que l'index et l'annulaire puisse facilement toucher le Crin, comme c'est l'index qui donne toute la force à l'archet il doit se trouver plus avancé que les autres sur le Crin. Le pouce se trouve de l'autre côté de la baguette entre l'index et l'annulaire, le Crin de l'archet du côté du Chevallet, et la baguette assez élevée pour qu'elle ne touche point les Cordes. Rien ne donne plus d'aisance au Poignet, et même plus de grace en jouant que de tenir le coude un peu élevé en s'accoutumant des le commencement à bien employer tout son archet en tirant et en poussant. Il ne faut point de contrainte dans le bras, c'est un deffaut qui ôte toute la quissance de l'archet et qui empêche de tirer de beaux sons. Il faut toujours conserver un mouvement de souplesse naturelle dans le poignet en tirant et en poussant l'archet."

62. Cupis, *Méthode raisonnée,* p. 2. "Il faut placer son archet sur la corde que l'on se propose de faire sonner à la distance de deux pouces du chevallet, c'est la position naturelle de l'archet,

on the string is re-iterated by Tillière, who notes that "one must draw down bow straight, and the up-bow in the same way; that is to say on the same line, two inches from the bridge, and to hold it firm, the hair on the soundpost side." [63] This bow hold, above the frog, was to remain the standard French bow hold well into the nineteenth century. [64]

Holding the Instrument

Iconographical evidence shows several ways of holding the instrument, depending largely on its size and on the performing situation. As may be expected, the cello was usually played seated for more concert-like situations, such as performing sonatas. With the player seated, the instrument could be rested directly on the ground, or supported by an end-pin or by a short stool, or supported on the player's calves like the viola da gamba. This last method is the only one given in Corrette's and later treatises. It is possibly due to the influence and prestige of the viola da gamba that this hold became the most widely accepted; subsequently, the strong influence of later French cellists ensured that it became the universal cello hold from the late eighteenth century. [65]

Cupis elaborates that the cello should be placed between the legs such that the lower left corner fits into the join of the knee, so that the whole weight of the instrument rests on the calf of the left leg, and the left foot is behind. If the knee were to be placed in this corner, it would prevent the bow from moving fluently when playing on the A string. The right leg is placed against the side, below the instrument, to keep it steady. [66]

ou l'on peut tirer tout le son que l'instrument doit produire en faisant vibrer la corde en tirant son archet en droite ligne. Et au contraire si l'on desire diminuer, ou adoucir la qualité du son, on s'éloigne insensiblement du chevallet en se raprochant du côté de la touche et diminuant aussi la force de l'appuy de l'archet sur la corde, c'est ce qui conduit à adoucir le son de l'instrument à tel point qu'on le desire, plus on raproce l'archet de la touche, plus le son s'affoiblit."

63. Tillière, *Méthode,* p. 4. "Il faut tirer l'Archet droit et le pousser de même c'est-à-dire sur la même ligne à deux pouces du Chevalet, et le tenir ferme, le crin du côté de l'ame."

64. See Walden, *One Hundred Years,* p. 88.

65. The use of the end-pin cannot be discounted, but it was shunned at least by the French virtuoso cellists, strongly influenced by their viola da gamba predecessors. The most detailed study of this issue is Tilden A. Russell, 'The Development of the Cello Endpin', *Imago musicae,* 4 (1987), 335–56.

66. Cupis, *Méthode raisonnée,* p. 1. "Il faut premierement s'asseoir sur le devant de sa chaise, afin de pouvoir tenir le Violoncelle avec aisance, le placer entre les jambes de façon que le coin de l'échancrure d'en bas à gauche se trouve dans la jointure du genouil, afin que tout le poid de l'Instrument soit posé sur le Mollet de la jambe gauche, et le pied gauche en dehors; si le genouil se trouvoit au contraire placé dans cette échancrure, il empêcheroit l'archet de passer aisément lorsqu'on voudroit se servir de la chanterelle, et la jambe droite se pose contre l'éclisse d'en bas de l'instrument pour le maintenir en sureté."

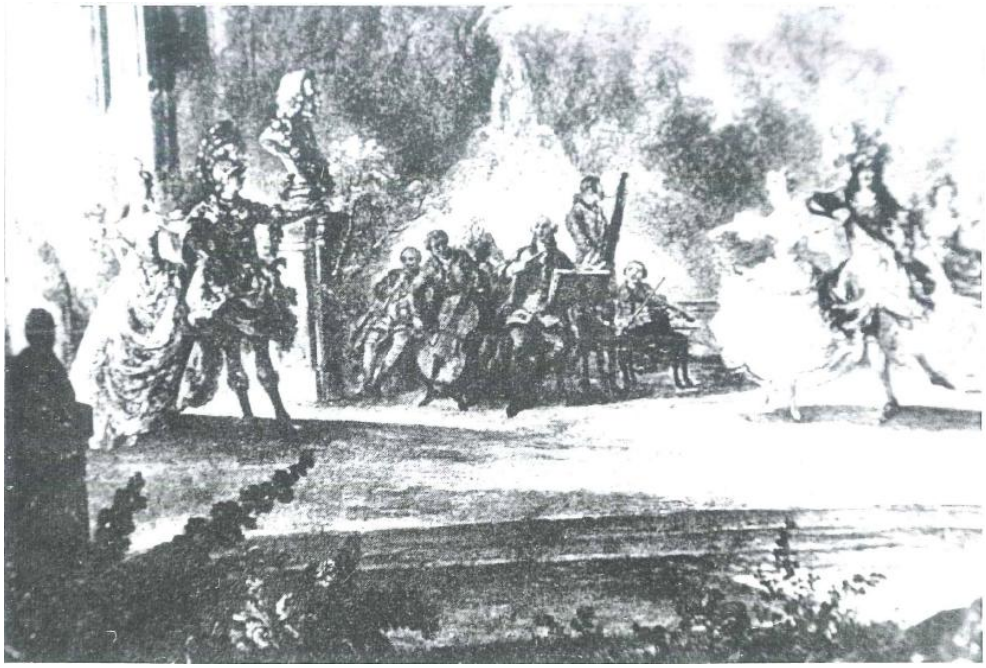


Figure 3.4: Lancret, *Idealised Scene of an Opera-Ballet* (Paris, formerly Madame de Polé's collection), showing the violoncello held in 'gamba' position. Source: Smith, 'An Iconographical Study'.

Two other methods of holding the cello were to play standing, and the *da spalla* position. While neither of these were used by the majority of French cellists in this era, iconographical evidence suggests that they were sufficiently common to warrant consideration.

Cellists and *basse de violon* players were sometimes required to play in a standing or even walking, in functional or ceremonial situations.[67] When standing, the instrument was supported by some kind of prop such as a table, stool, wine barrel or end-pin; larger instruments simply rested on the ground. The French cellists played in a standing position throughout the eighteenth century. Six French iconographical sources (from before 1800) show *basses de violon* or cellos being played standing.[68] While three are from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1581, 1608, 1664), the others come from the eighteenth century (1704, 1745 and 1777). This last date shows this practice continued to be used into the Duport era, even if it became markedly less common. In all of these sources, the cello or cellos are shown in an orchestral or ensemble context, other than 1704, in which a lone musician

67. See Tilden A. Russell, 'New Light on the Historical Manner of Holding the Cello', *Historical Performance*, 6 (1993), 73–78 and Walden, *One Hundred Years*, p. 98.

68. See Smith, 'An Iconographical Study'.

Figure 3.5: Picart, *The Cello Player*, 1704 (The Hague, Haagsgemeentemuseum). Source: Smith, 'An Iconographical Study'.

plays for a dancer, and 1777, which is a free-standing statuette of a cellist. In all the sources except for 1704, the instruments are resting on the ground. In the 1704 picture, the instrument is rested on a stool (Figure 3.5).

The *da spalla* position, in which the cello is held horizontally across the chest like a very large violin, has attracted some attention from some period instrumentalists.[69] Their research focuses primarily on two areas: Bach's milieu, and Italy in the late seventeenth century, and has not addressed the situation in France.

Both written and iconographical sources confirm that bass violin-family instruments were played in the *da spalla* position in France, although it

69. See Gregory Barnett, 'The Violoncello da Spalla: Shouldering the Cello in the Baroque Era, *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society,* 24 (1998), 81–106; Brent Wissick, 'The Cello Music of Antonio Bononcini: Violone, Violoncello da Spalla, and the Cello "Schools" of Bologna and Rome', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music,* 1 (2006) <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v12/no1/wissick.html>; Dmitry Badiarov, 'The Violoncello, Viola da Spalla and Viola Pomposa in Theory and Practice', *The Galpin Society Journal,* 60 (2007), 121–145; Sigiswald Kuijken, 'A Bach Odyssey', Early Music, 38 (2010), 263–72 (pp. 267–68); Marc Vanscheeuwijck, 'Recent Re-Evaluations of the Baroque Cello and What They Might Mean for Performing the Music of J. S. Bach', *Early Music,* 38 (2010), 181–92.

remains unclear how widespread was this practice.[70] As all of these sources refer to seventeenth-century France in an ensemble context, we have no evidence of any French virtuoso cellists playing in this manner. Nevertheless, two Italian cellists, Giovanni (or possibly Antonio Maria) Bononcini and Salvatore Lanzetti, who are known to have played *da spalla* were influential in Paris. It remains unclear whether they used this technique exclusively, or in combination with a vertical hold. However, there is some evidence to suggest that for Bononcini at least, it was the latter.

According to La Borde, a "Marc-Antoine" Bononcini [Antonio Maria?] was the first who made the cello sing in Paris, and adds that "we have by him several cello sonatas that he is said to have made known in France".[71]

A set of twelve cello sonatas by a Bononcini, possibly those to which La Borde referred, survives in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève.[72] Brent Wissick has argued that these sonatas were conceived for a cello played *da spalla*, although he acknowledges that Bononcini himself later played the instrument in the usual *da gamba* position.[73] The father, Giovanni Maria Bononcini, is known to have played the cello *da spalla*, and Wissick speculates that the two sons also did this in their youth. The sonatas are placed mostly on the top two strings and make use of the higher positions, whereas contemporaneous Emilian cello music tends to use the middle two strings and

70. Two of the three iconographical sources are Parisian, indicating the practice was not confined to provincial centres. Both of the Parisian examples are from the first half of the seventeenth century, long before the cello as a solo instrument became known in Paris. The only eighteenth-century example appears in a painting of a Corpus Christi procession in southern France—a situation in which mobility is of prime importance.

71. Jean-Benjamin de La Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, 4 vols (Paris: Onfroy, 1780), III, p. 171: "On a de lui plusieurs sonates pour le violoncelle qu'il fit, dit-on, connaître en France. Il fut réellement le premier qui fit chanter cet instrument, & en tira ce beau son qu'il est si rare d'entendre". Lindgren believes it was not Antonio Maria, but rather his elder brother Giovanni, since Antonio "is not known to have been in France, but Giovanni was there during the summers of 1723–4, the autumn of 1731, and the winter of 1733". Lindgren speculates that the sonatas referred to by La Borde were probably the twelve sonatas now conserved in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève and attributed to Antonio Maria Bononcini. A Bononcini is also credited by Corrette as having invented the cello itself: "Depuis environ vingtcinq ou trente ans, on a quitté la grosse basse de Violon montée en Sol pour le Violoncelle des Italiens, inventé par *Bonocini* [sic] présentement Maitre de Chapelle du Roi de Portugal, son accord est d'un ton plus haut que l'ancienne Basse, ce qui lui donne beaucoup plus de jeu" (Corrette, *Méthode*, p. A).

72. Madeleine Garros and Simone Wallon, *Catalogue du fonds musical de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève de Paris*, Catalogus Musicus 4 (Kassel: International Musicological Society, 1967), p. 11.

73. Brent Wissick, 'The Cello Music of Antonio Bononcini: Violone, Violoncello da Spalla, and the Cello "Schools" of Bologna and Rome' *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 12, no. 1 (2006) <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v12/no1/wissick.html>. The sonatas are published in a modern edition by Lowell Lindgren: Antonio Maria Bononcini, *Complete Sonatas for Violoncello and Basso Continuo*, ed. by Lowell Lindgren, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 77 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1996).

the lower positions. Wissick argues that the *da spalla* technique encouraged this type of writing, since the use of the lower positions and lower strings is difficult with such a large instrument held on the arm.[74]

The Bononcini sonatas are bound together with manuscript copies of Livres II, III, and IV by Barrière, a set of cello sonatas by Wenzel Thomas, and the Livre II violin sonatas by Senaillié. According to the title page, the collection belonged originally to a 'Dubuisson, musicien du roy'.[75] Lindgren speculates that the cellist would have had to deal with the problem of playing the Bononcini sonatas in a gamba position, unless he, "like Lanzetti, sometimes use[d] the spalla way".

Lanzetti is shown playing a small cello in the *da spalla* position in an illustration, 'Concert Italien' which appears as the frontispiece to Corrette's *Les amusemes du Parnasse* (1749) (Figure 3.6).[76] Given the fame of the other musicians playing with him (Scarlatti at the harpsichord, violinists Tartini and Locatelli, and the oboist Martini), it is almost certain that the depiction of Lanzetti is accurate. However we should note all of the musicians are Italian, and there is no evidence any French cellists held their instruments in this manner. However, Lanzetti did visit Paris, where he performed at the *Concert Spirituel*, and it is possible that he used the *da spalla* hold.

*

A lack of universally-applied techniques for bowing and fingering, as well as the entire absence of teaching materials (apart from Corrette), makes it difficult to assess accurately the techniques prevailing at the time. However, the following conclusions can be drawn.

Cello fingering in the neck positions differed substantially from the modern fingering system: Corrette's fingerings patterns suggest omitting either the second or third finger in the low positions, much as in the current Simandl system of double-bass fingering. Although Corrette does also give details of a fingering system similar to the modern one, he does not recommend its use. Moreover, some passages in the surviving repertoire are significantly easier to play using a diatonic fingering, suggesting that this was widely used.

Conversely, the use of the bow was more modern. The overhand bow hold appears to have been the norm in France, a legacy of the standardized bow holds required by Lully in the *Vingt-quatre violons du Roi*. This is in

74. Wissick, §4.

75. Garros and Wallon, p. 11.

76. Michel Corrette, *Les Amusemens du Parnasse: Méthode courte et facile pour apprendre à toucher le clavecin, avec les plus jolis airs à la mode où les doits sont chiffrés pour les commençans ensemble des principes de musique. Livre I* (Paris, 1749).

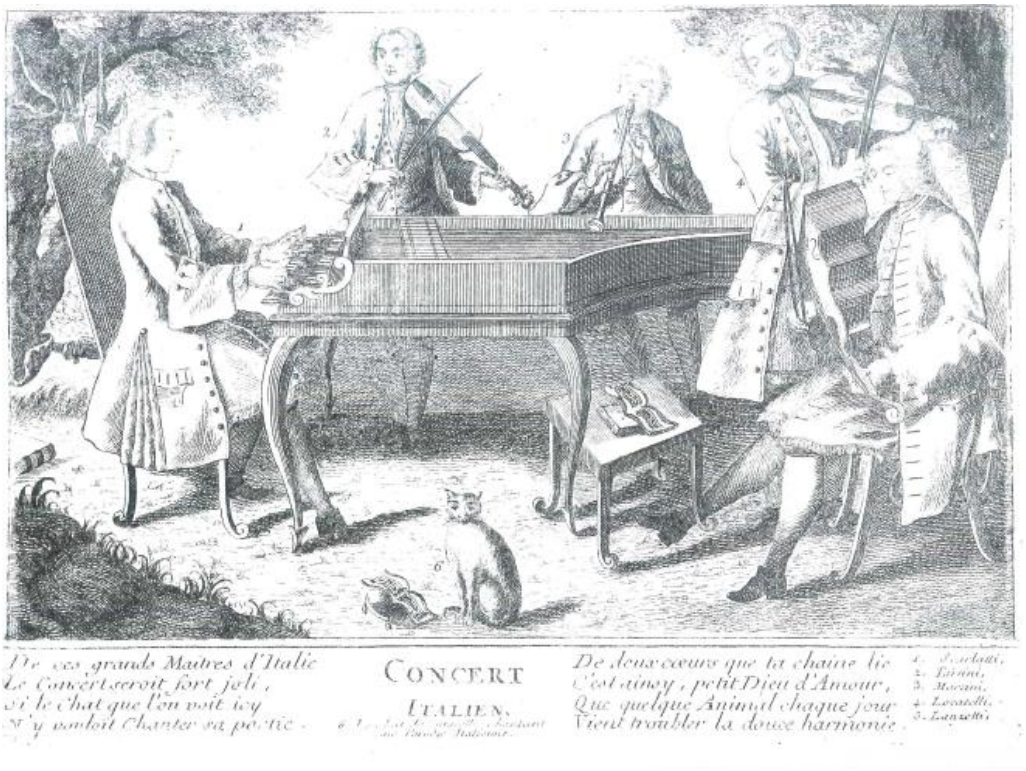


Figure 3.6: Frontispiece to Corrette, *Les amusemens du Parnasse.* Source: Smith, 'An Iconographical Study'.

contrast to countries beyond France, where underhand bow holds persisted through the eighteenth century.

While there is some evidence of the *da spalla* hold of the instrument in Paris, usually by Italian musicians, it is unlikely that this position was used by any French cellists to perform the solo sonata repertoire.

Chapter 4

The French Cello Idiom Explored: An Examination of Idiomatic Writing for the Cello

4.1 Music Sources

The following is a list of all music sources referred to in this Chapter. Shelfmarks are for the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, except where indicated.

Barrière, Jean, *Sonates pour le violoncelle avec la basse continüe ... Livre I* (Paris: L'auteur, Boivin, Leclerc, [1733]) Vm^{7}.6321

——, *Sonates pour le violoncelle avec la basse continüe ... Livre II* (Paris: L'auteur, V^{ve} Boivin, Leclerc [1733]) Vm^{7}.6321

——, *Sonates Sonates pour le violoncelle avec la basse continüe ... Livre III* (Paris: L'auteur, V^{ve} Boivin, Leclerc [1739]) Vm^{7}.6321

——, *Sonates pour le violoncelle avec la basse continüe ... Livre IV* (Paris: L'auteur, V^{ve} Boivin, Leclerc [1742]) Vm^{7}.6321

Baur, Jean, *VI Sonates pour le violoncelle avec la basse continue ... I^{er} Livre* (Paris: L'auteur, Castagnerie, Leclerc, et aux adresses ordinaires, [1751]). Vm^{7}.6333

Berteau, Martin, *Sonate da camera a violoncello solo, col basso continuo ... composte dal sig^{r} Martino ... Opera I^{a}* (Paris: Le Clerc, M^{me} Boivin, Blaise [1748]) Vm^{7}.6331

Berteau, Martin, *Sonate da camera a violoncello solo col basso continuo ... composte dal signor Martino Bertau, opera I^a* (Paris: Le Menu, [1771/2]) GB-Lbl: Music Collections g.512.q.

——, *Trois sonates et un air varié pour le violoncelle* [violin] (1759) ms.3521, 1–3; R 24845

Blainville, Charles-Henri de, *Second livre de sonates a deux violoncelles* (Paris: L'auteur, Peruquier, V^ve Boivin, Leclerc, Castagnery [1751]) L.12.668

Boismortier, Joseph Bodin de, *Vingt-sixième oeuvre ... contenant cinq sonates pour le violoncelle, viole ou basson avec la basse chiffrée suivies d'un concerto pour l'un ou l'autre de ces instruments* (Paris: L'auteur, Boivin, Leclerc, 1729) Vm^7.6313

——, *Œuvre cinquantiéme ... contentant VI sonates, dont la derniere est en trio, pour les violoncelles, bassons, ou violes, avec la basse* (Paris: L'auteur, V^ve Boivin, Leclerc, 1734) Vm^7.6314

Corrette, Michel, *Les delices de la solitude: Sonates pour le violloncelle, viole, basson ... Oeuvre XX* (Paris: L'auteur, Moivin, Leclerc [1742]) Vm^7.6332

Giraud, *Sonates pour le violoncelle ... œuvre I^er* (Paris: Le Clerc, Boivin [1751]) Rés. F 422

Les Gentils airs ou airs connus ajustée en duo pour deux violoncelles bassons ou violes (Paris: Leclerc *le cadet* [1751]) Vm^76357

Martin, François, *Six sonates pour le violonchelle, y compris, un duo pour un violon et un violonchelle ... œuvre III^e* (Paris: M^me Boivin, Le Clerc, 1746) Copy in the Elizabeth Cowling Collection, Special Collections and Rare Books, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Masse, Jean-Baptiste, *Menuets nouveaux pour deux violonchelles ... I^re Suitte ^r* (Paris: L'auteur, M^me Boivin, Leclerc [1737]) Vm^7.6354

——, *Sonates a deux violonchelles ... Œuvre I^r* (Paris: L'auteur, M^me Boivin, Leclerc [1736]) Vm^7.6354

——, *Sonates a deux violonchelles . . . Œuvre II^e* (Paris: L'auteur, M^me Boivin, Leclerc [1739]) Vm^7.6354 (2)

——, *Sonates en duo pour deux violonchelles obligées Œuvre III^e* (Paris: L'auteur, M^me Boivin, Leclerc [1741]) Vm^7.6354

——, *Sonates a deux violonchelles ou deux bassons . . . Oeuvre IV^e* (Paris: L'auteur, M^me Boivin, Leclerc [1741]) US-NYp: Mus. Res. *MYL (Masse)

——, *Sonates a deux violonchelles . . . Œuvre V^e* (Paris: L'auteur, Baillard, Vernadet, M^elle Castagnery, Lambert [after 1741]) Vma.6107

Patouart, Louis, *Six Sonates a violoncelle et basse continue . . . I^er œuvre* (Paris: L'auteur, Bayard, Chevardiere, Castagniery, Le Menu, Moria [1751]) K.160

Spourny, Wenceslaus, *Sei sonate a due violoncelli* [no opus number] (Paris: Leclerc *le cadet*) Vm^7 19098

——, *Six sonates en duo pour deux violoncelles obligez . . . Œuvre XIV^e* (Paris: Leclerc *le cadet* [1744]). L 12666

Thomas, *Premier livre contenant VI sonates a II violoncelles, violes ou baßons* (Paris: V^ve Boivin, Leclerc [1735]) L.16.553

The sonata as a genre, whether for cello or for other instruments, was new and highly fashionable in Paris in the early years of the eighteenth century. It was an overtly Italianate genre, in an era and locale where Italian music became "all the rage" following the death of Louis XIV and the subsequent influence of the Italophile, Philippe, Duke of Orléans. In that sense, Fontenelle's famous question, "Sonate, que me veux-tu?", might be heard as a cry in the night, lamenting the arrival of the already triumphant, yet (to him) incomprehensible Italianate sonata. [1]

However, the French on the whole did not write purely Italianate sonatas, but in various ways sought to gallicize the genre. For example, Wiebke Thormählen, referring to Gaviniés' violin sonatas of 1763, comments that "the most interesting thing about these sonatas is Gaviniés's combination of

1. For further discussion of Fontenelle's question and its context, see Beverly Jerold, 'Fontenelle's Famous Question and Performance Standards of the Day', *College Music Symposium* 43 (2003), 150–160

Italian violin figuration with a French ornamental aesthetic".[2] This mix of the Italian and French styles is certainly true of the cello sonatas published in France in this era; not only of those by French composers, but also, to a limited extent, of some by Italians resident in Paris. Yet the contrast in styles presented a unique challenge to the French cellist-composers: how to write in what was essentially an Italian genre, yet also to stamp a Gallic hallmark on their sonatas. While a large part of this quintessential 'Frenchness' must have come from a specific manner of performance, there are also numerous French stylistic devices within the music of the sonatas. A further challenge faced uniquely by these French cellist-composers, was the issue of how to write for what was effectively a new instrument, in this emergent genre.

Composers could borrow from the 'language' of the solo viol suite and the violin sonata (both French and Italian), but these idioms could not simply be transcribed or transposed for the cello. While the French viol repertoire may seem the most obvious source for French 'baroque' cello sonatas, the inherent differences in tuning and the fact that both the cello and the sonata were seen as Italianate, rendered the *pièces de viole* of Marais and his contemporaries, for the most part, unsuitable models. That is not to say that certain elements of the viol idiom, such as the use of polyphony and double stopping, were not adapted, and that others were occasionally adopted for effect. The violin sonata provided a more direct model, although the fact that the cello (at least in this era) played in the tenor-bass register, rather than the soprano, meant that considerable modifications to the violin-sonata model needed to be made. Finally, there is the contribution of the Italian cello sonatas available in Paris. However, the musical evidence indicates that the aim of the French cellist-composers was not merely to imitate this model, but rather to adapt and extend it.

This final chapter will investigate how the early French cellist-composers interacted with the pre-existing viol suite, Italianate cello sonata, and early French violin sonata, to create and develop the early French cello idiom. This interaction is reflected in the nomenclature, textures, and use of national styles,[3] as well as in technical innovations such an the use of double stopping and advanced bow techniques. The diversity of influences is also reflected in the notational conventions and the use of various languages on the title pages. In all of these areas, the French cellists, composers and even publishers sought

2. For the intricate relationship between performance and composition, see Wiebke Thormählen, 'review of Pierre Gaviniés, *Sonatas for Violin and Basso Continuo,* Op. 3, ed. by Anthony F. Ginther, Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era 641, in *Eighteenth-Century Music* 1 (2004), pp. 105–07.

3. On musical nationalism in the eighteenth century, see Matthew Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay, the Idea of Scottish Music and the Beginnings of National Music in Europe', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 9 (2012), 81–108.

to distinguish themselves from the original Italianate model, developing a consciously nationalist cello idiom, and, in the process, extending the technique of the instrument. Much of this preceded the advent of Berteau, the supposed 'founder' of the French school, and certainly the Duport brothers, who are generally considered to represent the first flowering of the French cello school. In this sense, it is entirely appropriate to argue for an 'early', or even 'first' cello school, which preceded and is stylistically and technically distinct from that of Berteau and the Duport brothers.

4.2 Texture

In one area, the French cello sonatas are distinct from all preceding models: the use of texture. The word 'texture' is used here in the sense of the number of voices sounding at once, and the relationship between those voices. Moreover it is curious that this distinguishing feature should arrive in a genre devoted to a solo instrument and continuo. How can there be more than two voices sounding at once? Indeed, without exception, the Italian cello repertoire published in France uses the obvious two-voice texture throughout: the solo cello, and the basso continuo. This characteristic is shared with those other Italian sonatas (i.e. not published in France) which have been the subject of sustained academic inquiry.[4]

In contrast to this two-voiced texture in the Italian cello sonatas, the French sonatas frequently have recourse to a three-voice texture. This is achieved either through 'releasing' the continuo cello to play an inner line, or by the use of extensive double stopping in the solo part.[5] In addition, in contrast to the strict division between solo and bass found in the Italian sonatas (the 'melo-bass' texture), the French sonatas can also display an equal-voiced, duo-like texture.[6] This flexibility in textural effects is made possible by the fact that both the solo and continuo parts are playing in the same register; this is unique to cello sonatas and is not found in violin sonatas. This variety of textures, all achieved with the relatively limited resources of two cellos (solo and continuo, or two equal voices in duo) and

4. The Italian cello repertoire from this period is vast and much of it remains unpublished, whether in modern or in eighteenth-century editions. Moreover, the two most significant studies of the Italian cello repertoire from this period are both older sources: Elizabeth Cowling, 'The Italian Sonata Literature for the Violoncello in the Baroque Era' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1975), and Ute Zingler, 'Studien zur Entwicklung der italienischen Violoncellsonate von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt, 1967).

5. While the Italian sonatas do use double stopping in a limited way, this is in general only to highlight cadence points and does not constitute a sustained-three part texture. This is discussed further in Section 4.6.

6. This refers to continuo sonatas proper, rather than duos.

accompanying chordal continuo, appears to be unique to the French. It is as if the possibilities of having two voices, identical in range and timbre, capable of supplying both bass and melody, led French cellists and composers to experiment with the possibility of different textures achievable within this setting. That it was the French who experimented with this must be at least partly due to their tradition of solo viol music and suites where a solo viol is accompanied by a second viol and continuo. The different textures found in the French cello sonatas from this period may now be discussed in detail.

The most common texture in French cello sonatas is the single melodic line accompanied by a basso continuo (consisting of bowed and chordal continuo instruments). This is known as the melo-bass texture. As noted above, this is the only texture used in the Italian cello sonatas published in Paris.

While it remains prominent in the French sonatas, it is nonetheless mixed with multi-voiced textures as well, so creating a shifting play of textures within a movement. In this way, we may well regard it as a 'base' texture on which other layers of texture can be built.[7]

These additional textures and their incorporation are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Releasing the Second Cello to Play an Inner Line

The basic melo-bass texture can be enriched by the addition of a third voice, achieved by 'releasing' the continuo cello to play an independent line, while the chordal continuo instrument(s) continue to play the bass. This transforms the solo-sonata texture, with its inherent treble-bass polarity, into a trio sonata texture, (albeit with all three parts occupying a similar range and tessitura, as distinct from a trio for two treble instruments and continuo).

The part for the 'released' second cello is normally notated in the continuo stave, with the stems pointing upwards. The continuo part is then notated with the stems facing downwards. At this point the continuo line is sometimes marked 'tasto solo', indicating that the harpsichord or other chordal instrument should cease chord realization and sound only the bass notes. Other than that, a lack of comment in the scores suggests that the notation and practice was widely understood. One exception occurs in Barrière's Livre I, which has the instruction "the notes which are found underneath the continuo part [i.e. with the stems facing downwards] are for the keyboard" on the title page (Figure 4.1).

It is hardly surprising that the French should have made this innovation. Because the solo and continuo parts lie in the same range, the treble-bass polarity is less obvious aurally than in sonatas for a solo treble instrument and

7. In other words, there is a state of flux within movements.

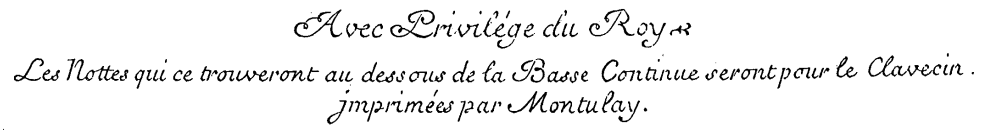

Avec Privilége du Roy.
Les Nottes qui ce trouveront au dessous de la Basse Continue seront pour le Clavecin.
Imprimées par Montulay.

Figure 4.1: Instruction on the title page of Barrière's Livre I.

continuo. Thus, composers of music for the cello sought ways to compensate for this lack of true treble-bass contrast. One solution was to exploit the unique sonority of the two cellos playing together in their upper-middle register, which cannot be replicated with a violin and cello playing together above the continuo bass.[8] Arguably a precedent lay in the French viol repertoire. In several of his *Pièces de viole,* Marais releases the continuo viol from its bass duties to play with the solo viol, in passages marked 'pour la viole'.[9] Marais was not the only one to use the continuo viol in this way, and indeed it is not restricted to the solo viol repertoire. In the violin sonatas (1707) of Élisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre (1665–1729), as well as in her trio sonatas for two violins and continuo (1695), the bowed bass instrument takes an inner line on several occasions, and even becomes a third 'real' part when the upper lines rest. Such uses of the bowed continuo part go beyond the embellished bass lines for the cello in some Corelli trio sonatas, although it is possible that these provided the initial model.

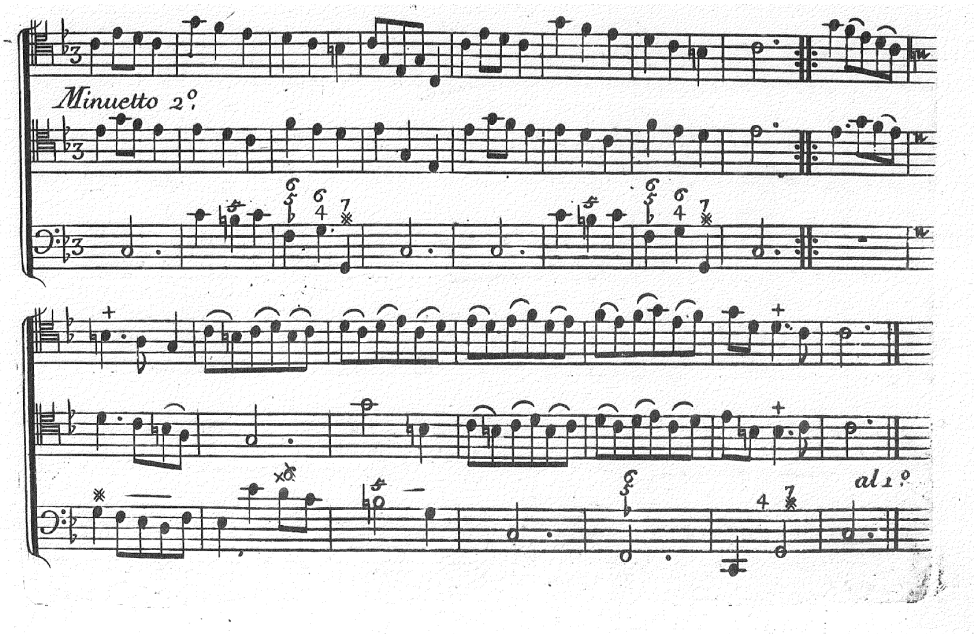
In the French cello sonatas, the releasing of the second cello varies from just a few notes at a cadence point to sustained use over the duration of an entire movement. Unlike the examples in Jacquet de la Guerre's sonatas, where the part for the released instrument is melodically independent, in the cello sonatas the second cello most commonly shadows the soloist a third below.

An example in Masse's collection of minuets has the two cellos playing mostly in thirds (as in the previous examples), except that in this case the second cello no longer is confined to the lower of the two voices, but sometimes takes the upper part. Rather than it being a case of 'adding' or 'shadowing' thirds, where the solo cello is still dominant and the second merely provides harmonic richness, in this case the texture is that of a true trio sonata (Example 4.1).

In Sonata I in Masse's Op. 5, in the second *Tambourino,* the continuo cello plays an inner line, in thirds below the soloist, leaving the chordal continuo instrument(s) to sustain the simple bass line (Example 4.2). Adding variety

8. Compare, for example, the texture of Sonata II in Barrière's Livre III, which is a trio sonata for violin, cello and continuo, with texture and timbre in the Barrière movements which have the second cello released to play an inner line.

9. Interestingly, these passages in Marais's œuvre normally require that the two viols play in unison, rather than in independent parts, as is the case in the cello sonatas.

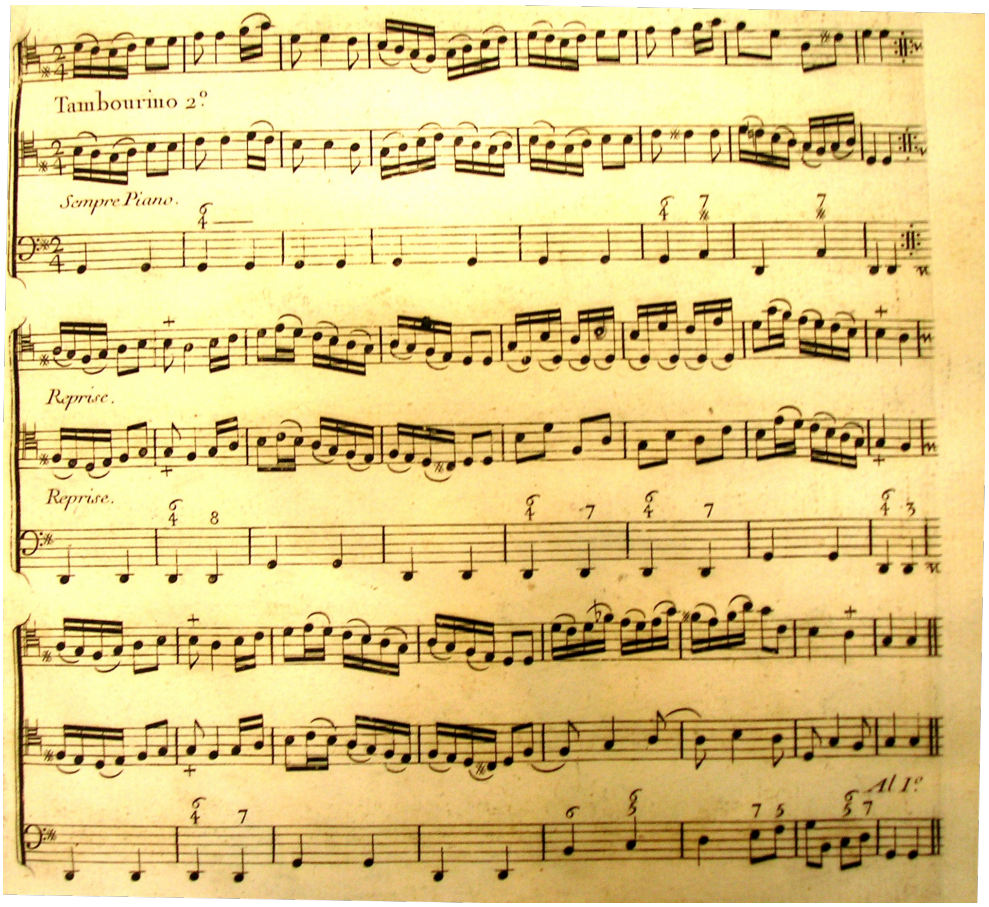


Example 4.1: Masse, *Menuets Nouveaux,* [sixth set of minuets, second minuet], showing true duo-writing for the two cellos. Note that the part for the 'continuo' cello is on a separate stave. The other pieces in the collection are for a simple texture of cello and continuo. Location: page 5, systems 4–5.

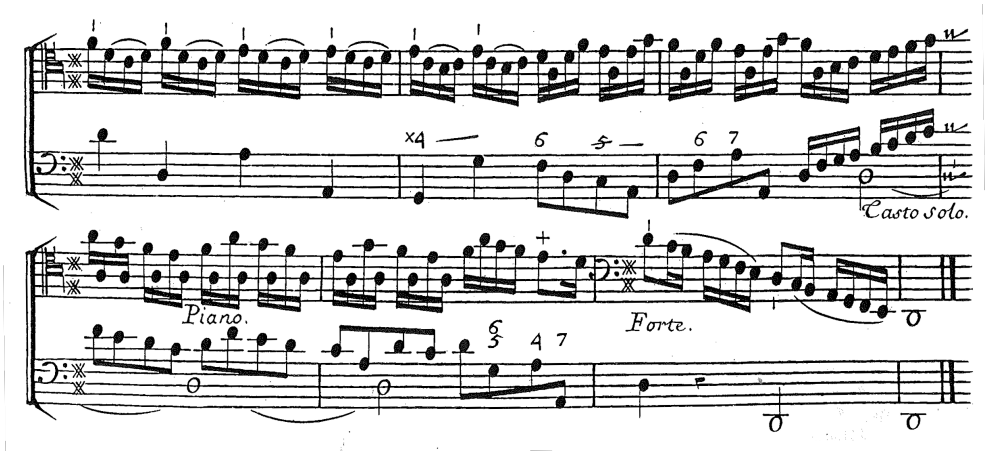
to the texture, for two bars in the middle of this movement, the solo cello breaks into a *batterie* figuration, with the continuo cello continuing to play in thirds above and then below the upper voice of the soloist's part (bars 13–14 of extract). That this occurs in a sonata which is technically and stylistically simple shows that the texture with two cellos playing melodic lines, leaving the bass to the chordal continuo instrument(s), is not confined virtuosic sonatas. It should also be noted that in this case, the part for the second cello is notated on a separate stave because the line is sustained throughout.

A similar device is used towards the end of the *Allemanda* movement in Sonata IV in Barrière's Livre I, albeit in a more virtuosic context: when the solo part breaks into two voices in a *faux-batterie* figuration (second system of the example), the continuo cello plays in thirds with the upper voice of the soloist's part (Example 4.3).[10] Here, the instruction 'tasto solo' is also employed for the chordal continuo. Unlike the Masse example above, the continuo cello is released for just two bars, not for the entire movement.

10. I call this *faux-batterie* because the aural effect is the same as in true *batterie;* the difference is that the entire passage (both the upper and lower voices) is played on the same string, in this case on the A-string.

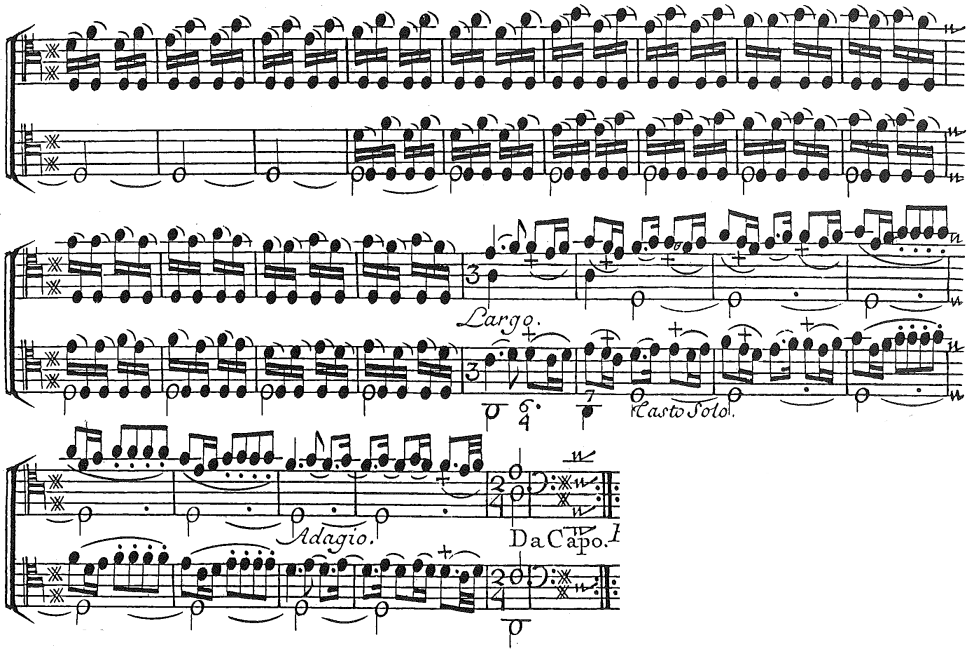


Example 4.2: Jean-Baptiste Masse, Op. 5, Sonata I, *Tambourino II.* Location: page 3, systems 2–4.



Example 4.3: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata IV, *Allemanda.* Location: page 23, final two systems of page.

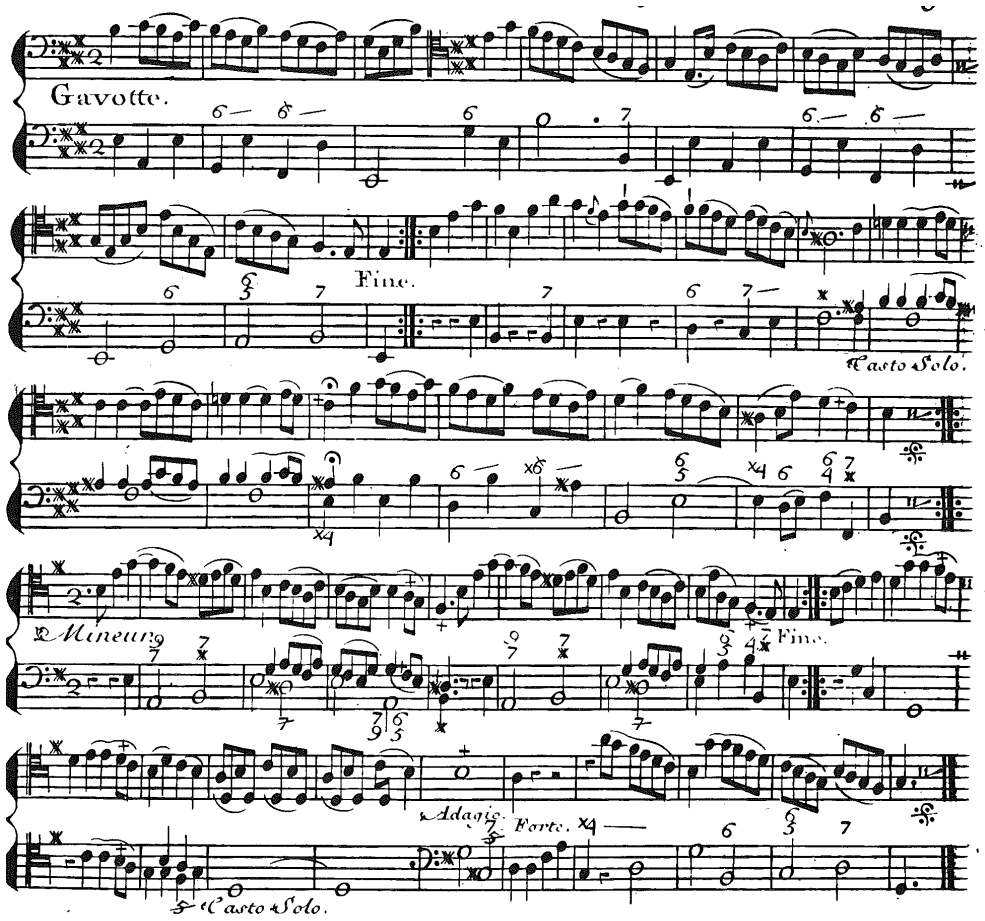
A yet more virtuosic version of the same device is found in the final movement of the same sonata (Example 4.4). As in Example 4.3, it highlights structural elements of the music: in this case, it emphasizes the extended close, together with the long tonic pedal which eventually leads to the dominant.



Example 4.4: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata IV, *Allegro*, showing the second cello released to play a third below the first, initially in a slurred *batterie* figure, and then in a drone passage. Location: page 25, systems 2–4.

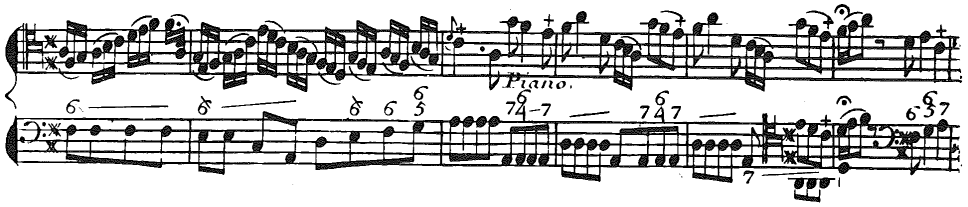
There are also other places where Barrière uses this texture for short passages to reinforce the structure of the movement. For example, in the Gavotte in Sonata III in Livre IV, the continuo cello is released for specific phrases: in the major section, to emphasis the modulation before the return of the opening theme (bars 12–16), and in the minor section, to differentiate the answering phrase (bars 6–7) and before a two-bar dominant pedal (bar 11) (Example 4.5).

Again in Livre IV, in Sonata I the continuo cello leaves its bass function to reinforce structure: the phrase where the second cello is released is a repeat of the preceding phrase, but emphasized by the presence of the second cello playing in thirds with the soloist. It coincides with a dramatic halt at the V–I cadence (Example 4.6). Such seamless doubling in thirds or sixths is especially idiomatic to the cello sonata in general, where the two cellos can match each other in timbre and range, unlike in violin sonatas, where



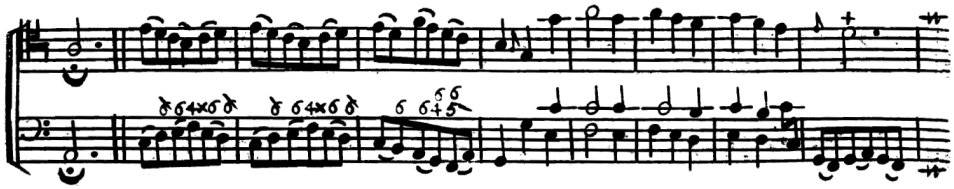
Example 4.5: Barrière, Livre IV, Sonata III, *Gavottes I & II.* Location: page 11, systems 3–7.

discrepancy in timbre and difference in tessitura make it less effective. This dual-use of the continuo cello is one of the unique features of the French cello repertoire.



Example 4.6: Barrière, Livre IV, Sonata I, *Andante.* Location: page 3, system 2.

While playing in parallel thirds with the soloist is the most common use of the continuo cello as an extra voice, it is also employed in other ways. In Patouart's Sonata V in Op. 1, the released cello has a quasi inner pedal, which, rather than being independent, holds the outer parts together. Again, the releasing of the continuo cello serves to highlight a change, this time in the phrase structure: the preceding phrase is a two-voice phrase, while the phrase with the continuo cello released is a three-voice phrase. A change in note values at this point further highlights the structure. In common with most of the examples above, it is in the A-string tessitura (Example 4.7).

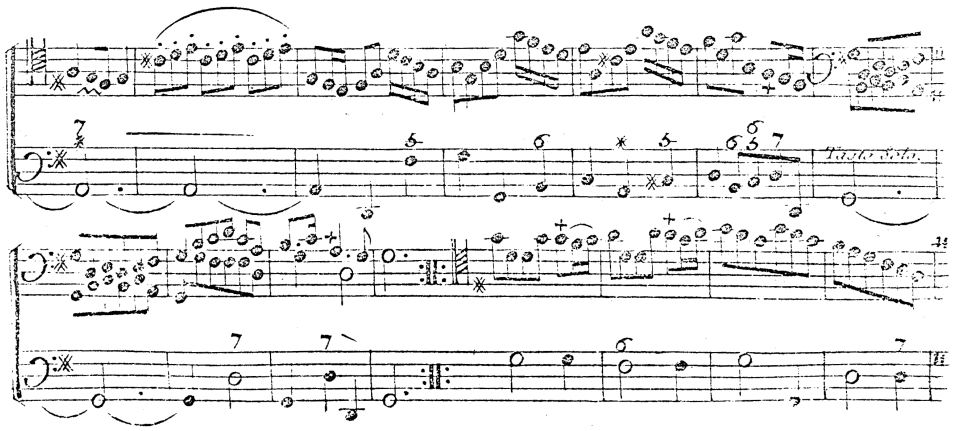


Example 4.7: Patouart, Op. 1, Sonata V, *Aria gratioso,* minor section (p. 17), showing the continuo cello contributing an inner line that is not in parallel thirds with the solo cello part.

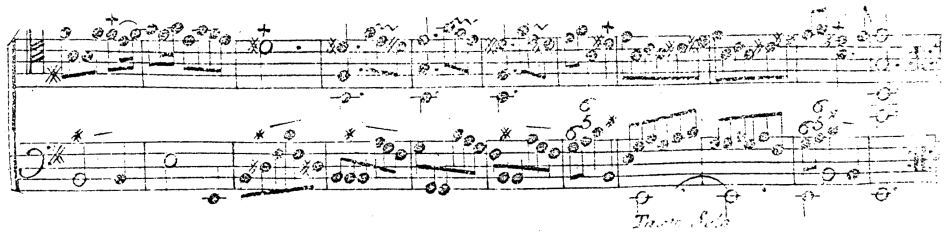
It is not surprising that it should be largely in the instrument's most *cantabile* register, the octave from *a to a',* that this type of writing should occur: passages of parallel thirds any lower would have a 'muddy' quality. Indeed, only one example uses a lower register of the instrument: in the fourth movement of Martin's Sonata II, both cellos use the D- and G-string tessitura at the half-close, and A- and D-string tessitura at the final cadence (Examples 4.8 and 4.9). The part for the escaped continuo cello (largely in the customary thirds with the solo instrument) is notated in the soloist's stave at the half close, but in the continuo stave as normal at the full close. The differences in notation are entirely pragmatic. The escaped continuo cello could not be accommodated on the continuo stave at the half-close area; its presence in the solo stave should not be mistaken for double stops. The releasing of the continuo cello again emphasizes an element of the musical structure: in this case, highlighting the end-rhyme of the binary form.

An interesting example in Barrière's Livre I also has the continuo cello released at an extended tonic point (Example 4.10). However, here it is not shadowing the solo cello in thirds; rather, it plays an echo of the solo cello's arpeggios. Coming at the close of the final sonata in the collection, it provides a delightfully witty close to the sonata, very much in the rococo tradition of *fêtes galantes.*

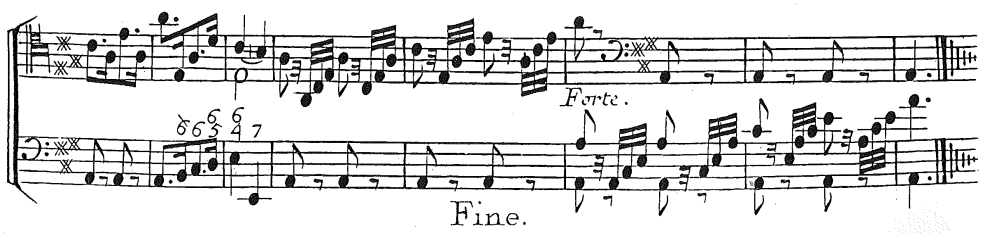
If the second cello is released while the solo cello is double stopping, this has the potential to create a four-part texture: two voices played by



Example 4.8: Martin, Sonata II, *Allegro.* Location: page 8, systems 5–6.



Example 4.9: Martin, Sonata II, *Allegro.* Location: page 9, system 6.



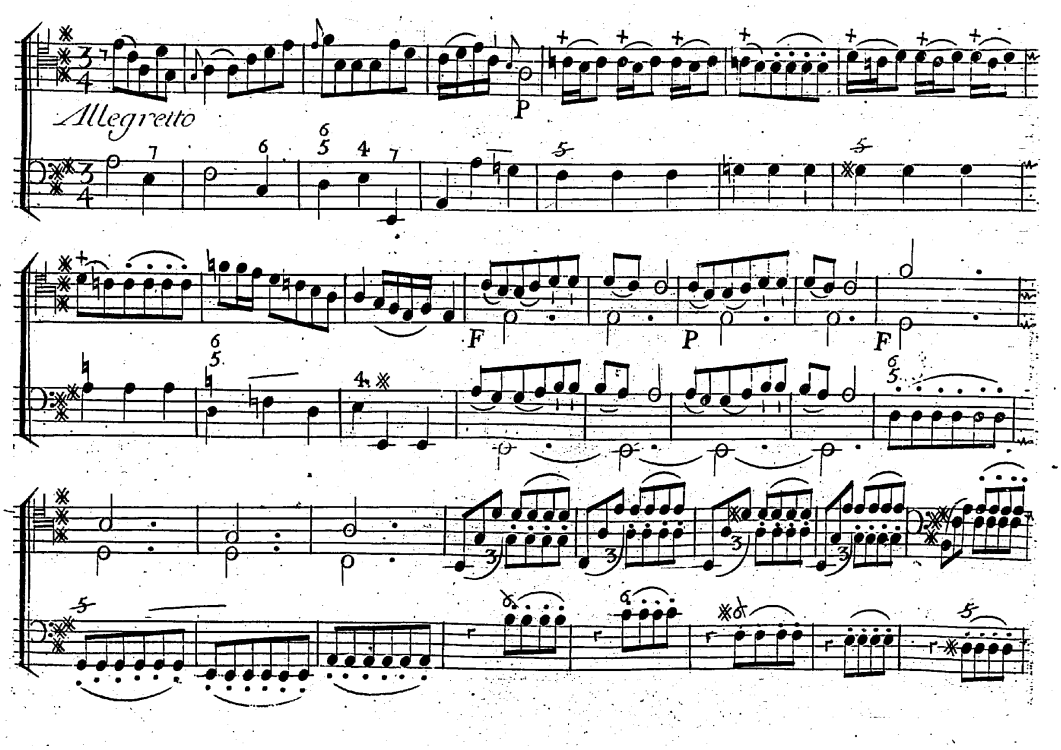
Example 4.10: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata VI, *Allegro.* Location: page 37, final system on page.

the solo cello, a third by the released continuo cello, and the fourth by the continuo bass.[11] However, in practice whenever the solo cello double-stops while the continuo cello is also released, the double-stop part is a drone, and the drone note is doubled in the continuo part (sometimes at the octave or double octave). Thus, there are only three true parts sounding. There are two examples of the second cello being released while the soloist is double stopping, creating a four-part texture, in the sonatas of Jean Baur (Examples 4.11 and 4.12). In Example 4.11, the continuo cello doubles the upper line of the soloist's part, a third below, thus playing in between the soloist's double-stops. This 'playing in-between' is used frequently by the French cellist-composers from this era; it makes chord voicings possible that would otherwise be unplayable due to the tuning of the cello. The same texture occurs in the opening movement of Sonata III (Example 4.12). In both cases, the continuo bass doubles the drone of the solo cello, one octave lower. A similar example, although more elaborate, occurs in Martin's Sonata IV (Example 4.13). Here, the drone is in the released continuo cello part, two octaves above the continuo bass, and *above* the solo cello's part. Meanwhile, the solo cello plays two moving voices, rather than a drone. Again, the releasing of the continuo cello at this point serves to reinforce structure, in this case emphasizing the dominant harmony at the close of the 'B' section of the movement.

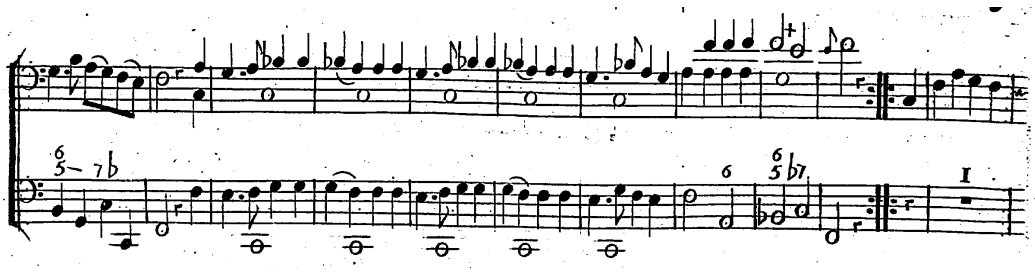
In Examples 4.11 and 4.12, the continuo cello's part lies *in-between* the solo cello's double-stops. Similar voicing occurs in the third movement of Sonata IV in Barrière's Livre III. Here, it is significantly easier for the solo cello to double-stop the sixths (as notated), than it would be (hypothetically) to play. This type of writing, with the two cellos playing in the same tessitura, capitalizes on the unique possibilities of having the same instrument, a cello, play both the continuo bass and the solo part. It would be less practical to do this in a violin sonata. There the continuo cello would not blend as easily with the violin, partly because the instruments would not blend so naturally: the instruments have intrinsically different timbres and for the cello to play 'in-between' the double stops of the violin part would require playing it in its piercing upper register.

As already noted above, only one cello normally double-stops at a time. Not unexpectedly, the solo cello (or first cello in a duo) usually has the double stops. However, an interesting case of double stopping for the continuo cello

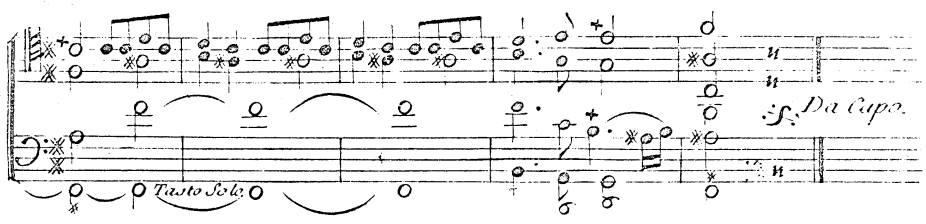
11. In theory, a five-part texture could be created if both cellos played double-stopped parts above the continuo bass. However, this possibility is not used, most likely because the resulting texture, with five parts in the tenor-bass register, would be too thick. By the time the upper registers are incorporated in the 1740s and 50s, the penchant for thick, double-stopped textures had fallen from favour.



Example 4.11: Baur, Sonata II, *Allegretto.* Location: page 8, systems 3–5.

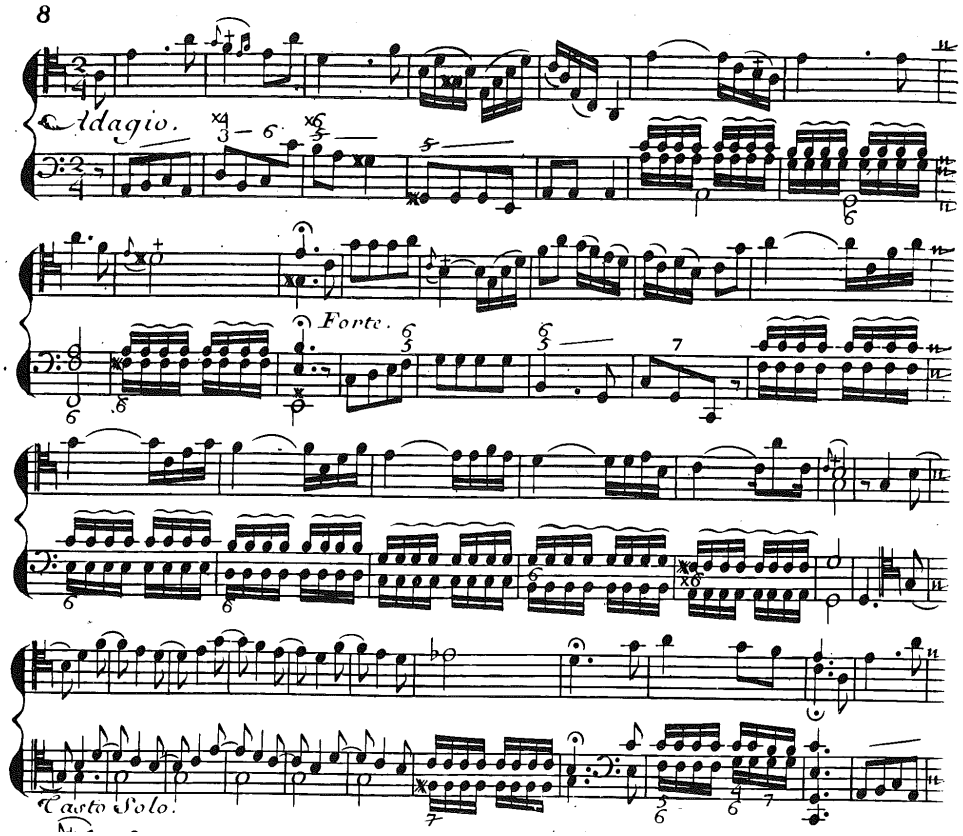


Example 4.12: Baur, Sonata III, *Allegro.* Location: page 10, system 5.



Example 4.13: Martin, Sonata IV, *Aria gratioso.* Location: page 16, system 3.

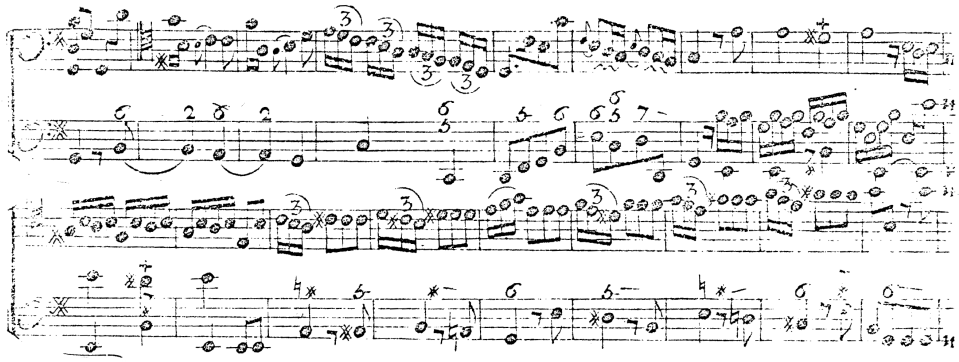
occurs briefly in three bars of Barrière's Sonata II in Livre IV (Example 4.14). Here, the continuo cello has pulsing, chordal double-stops. The extract also shows the flexible use of two-, three-, and four-part textures.



Example 4.14: Barrière, Livre IV, Sonata II, *Adagio.* Location: page 8, first four systems on page.

Other than this last example, when the continuo cello is aligned to the basso continuo in terms of its rhythmic structure, all instances where the second cello is released (whether or not double stops are involved) have it playing homophonically—that is, in the same rhythm as—the solo cello. It adds harmonic richness, normally by doubling in thirds, and is often used to draw attention to crucial moments in a movement's structure. However, the second cello line very rarely interacts contrapuntally with the solo cello in a trio sonata fashion, as, for example, does the the cello line in the trio sonata (for violin, cello and continuo) by Barrière (Sonata II in Livre III, second movement). A partial exception occurs in Martin's Sonata II, where the second cello is called upon to lead a phrase, which is then taken over

by the solo cello, one bar later (Example 4.15). But even this is not as polyphonic nor as extended as the use of the two solo instruments is in a typical trio sonata. Nor is it as rhythmically independent as the ornamented bass lines allocated to the cello in some of Corelli's trio sonatas. A possible reason for not using the continuo cello contrapuntally is that the second cello, participating momentarily as an independent voice in the texture, was not seen as a truly separate voice, but rather as additional harmonic colour. It may also be simply due to the French preference for homophonic textures at this time, evidenced by the frequent passages of parallel thirds, sixths and tenths between the solo cello and continuo bass even when the second cello is not released, which are unique to the French repertoire.



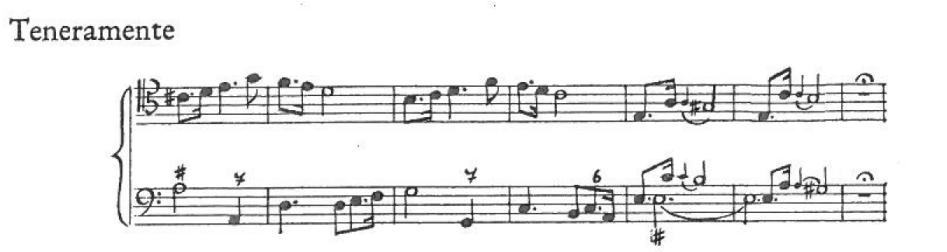
Example 4.15: Martin, Sonata II, *Allegro.* Location: page 5, systems 4–5.

The 'releasing' of the second cello was largely a French device,[12] although it later was adopted by those writing cello sonatas beyond France, as Ute Zingler confirms. It is significant that Zingler, deliberately searching for this texture in 1969 when the early French repertoire was scarcely known, still finds it mainly in French or French-influenced works.[13] The French examples she cites are the final movement of Sonata V by Berteau (which she attributes to 'Martino', following the title page of the 1748 edition) and a movement by Barrière (Livre II, Sonata IV, third movement). In her search for this texture, she also gives examples from the non-French composers Johann Ernst Galliard, Salvatore Lanzetti, and Francesco Geminiani (it is noteworthy that the latter two also spent time in the French capital). Of these,

12. Cowling, for example, does not mention this as a feature of any of the Italian sonatas in her dissertation.

13. See Ute Zingler, 'Über die Rolle Zusätzlicher Noten im Basso Continuo bei Violoncellosonaten', in *Helmuth Osthoff zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag: überreicht von Kollegen, Mitarbeitern und Schülern* ed. by Wilhelm Stauder, Ursula Aarburg and Peter Cahn (Tutzing: Schneider, 1969), pp. 135–138.

only the examples in Galliard and Geminiani can be considered comparable to the French practice.[14] The example from Galliard shows his use of the 'shadowing' technique. It is drawn from the third movement of Sonata II (of a set published in 1746) (Example 4.16), where the continuo cello plays in thirds with the solo, first above and then below it. It is worth noting that Galliard, as his name suggests, had connections with France. Although he was born in Celle and spent most of his career in England (from 1706 onwards), his father was the French wig-maker Jean Galliard, and "he learnt both flute and oboe from a French member of the Celle court orchestra, Pierre Maréchal".[15] It is not unlikely that he maintained contacts with France, and may have heard French cellists, especially as he (a non-cellist) had an interest in writing cello sonatas.



Example 4.16: Galliard, Sonata II, third movement, [no bar number given in Zingler source], showing an example, from a non-French sonata, of the continuo cello playing an inner line. Source is Ute Zingler, "Über die Rolle zusätzlicher Noten im Basso Continuo bei Violoncellsonaten", p. 36. [From the six cello sonatas, published in 1746 together with six sonatas by Caporale.]

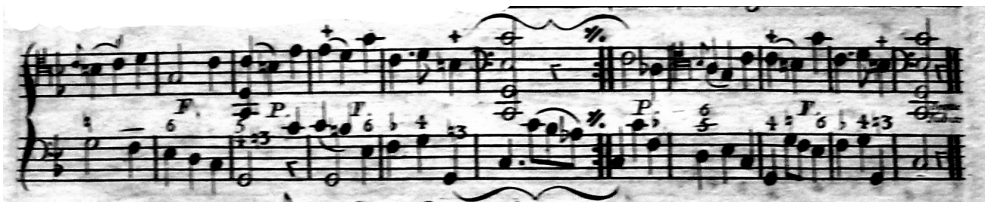
Zingler notes only the instruction in Geminiani's Op. 8, *Rules for playing in a true taste on the Violin, German Flute, Violoncello, and Harpsichord, particularly the Thorough Bass,* (published in 1745) where the composer states that "It is necessary to note that when double Notes are found in the Thorough Bass, the upper Notes is (!) for the Violoncello, and the under Notes for the Harpsichord".[16] The wording is strikingly similar to that in Barrière's Livre I (see Figure 4.1). In the Geminiani cello sonatas, the second cello is released once (Example 4.17). Compared to the examples in French sonatas, this is very inconsequential, consisting of an echo effect at the cadence point. The only other example of multi-voiced writing in the continuo part of

14. Zingler does not cite any particular example from the Geminiani sonatas. The example discussed in this section is the only instance of the second cello being released in any of Geminiani's cello sonatas.

15. Roger Fiske and Richard G. King, 'Galliard, John Ernest' in *GMO* [accessed 29 December 2011]

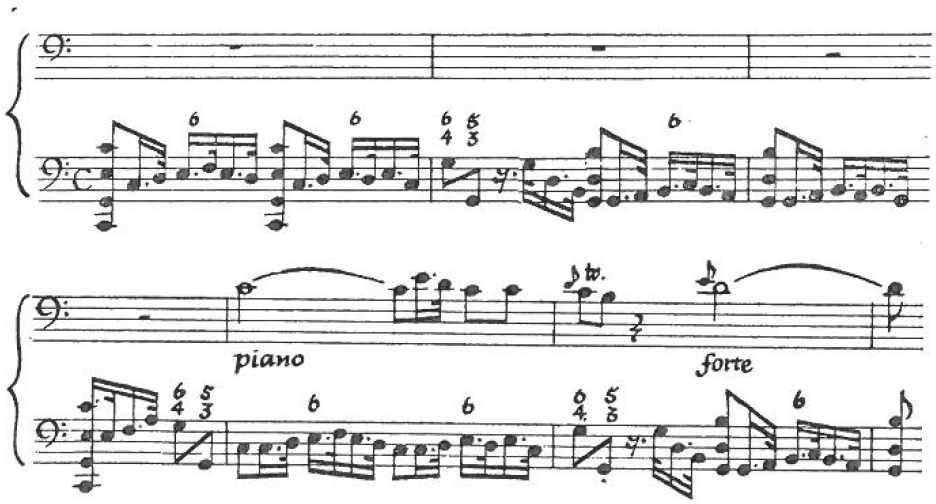
16. Cited in Zingler, 'Über die Rolle', p. 135.

Geminiani's cello sonatas are three chords in the *Allegro* movement of Sonata IV.



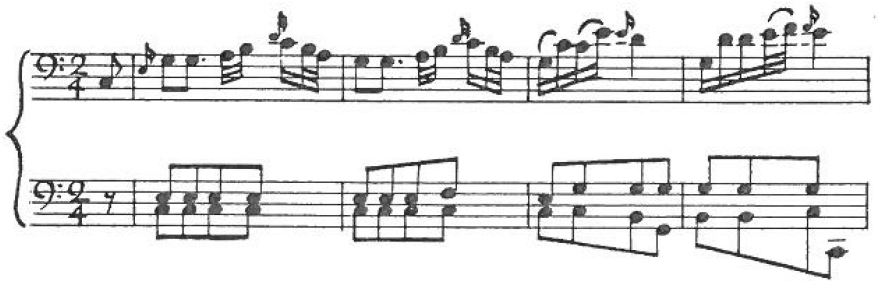
Example 4.17: Geminiani, Sonata III, *Affetuoso.* Location: page 14, system 4.

The two other non-French examples cited by Zingler, by Lanzetti and Mattern, fall into a different category. They are double-stopped parts for the continuo or second cellist, rather than examples of it being 'released' to play an independent part. Lanzetti requires stopped chords from the continuo cellist for weight (Example 4.18). Mattern gives a notated 'realization for the cellist of the continuo line, which was without figures and intended to be played by the continuo cello alone (Example 4.19). Mattern was writing in the second half of the eighteenth century, when accompaniment by the cello alone, rather than by a continuo group, became the norm. They may be found, for example, in the sonatas of Boccherini.



Example 4.18: Lanzetti, Op. 1, Sonata IV, opening bars, showing cellistic chordal writing in the continuo part. Unlike the examples from the French sonatas, this is not a true inner part. Source: Zingler, 'Über die Rolle', pp. 135–36.

The 'releasing' of the second cello was an important French stylistic device at this time, and later adopted by other composers. In addition, it promoted



Example 4.19: Mattern, Solo a Violoncello et Basso in C, opening movement *(Adagio)*, showing a written-out realization of the bass for cello, as opposed to a true inner part for the continuo cello. Source: Zingler, 'Über die Rolle', p. 136.

the creation of another French stylistic device—that of two parts playing in parallel thirds. This use of thirds as a characteristic of the French style has been remarked upon elsewhere; for instance, Glenn Burdette, in his study of Somis's violin sonatas, identifies Somis' compositions from after 1730 with "more *galant* and typically French features such as the adornment of melodies with *agréments*, echo effects, and *petites reprises* ... Passages in which the two parts are conducted in parallel thirds, sixths, or tenths for several measures, common in duo writing, are found". [17]

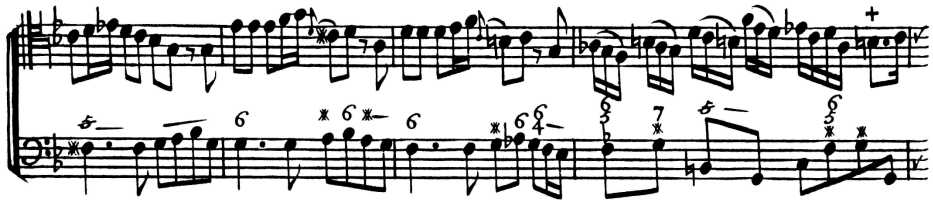
Smaller-Scale Textural Issues

Even where the second cello is not released, the French cellist-composers achieved a wide variety of textures within this genre, by the use of different textures which went beyond the independent lines of solo and bass characteristic of Italian cello sonatas at this time. Two of the most significant of these are passages of consecutive parallel thirds, sixths or tenths between the solo and the continuo; and passages where the solo and continuo play in unison or in octaves. The first of these is typical of the early French cello sonata repertoire but not found in the Italian sonatas, while unisons and octaves are typical of the Italian repertoire, and were sometimes used (as by Corrette) in deliberate imitation of the Italian style. However, the French expanded this originally Italian trait, extending it to the unison at the octave as the upper register expanded.

17. Glenn Eric Burdette, 'The Violin Sonatas of Giovanni Battista Somis (1686–1763), Including an Edition of Opus 3' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1993), p. iii.

Thirds and Sixths

In the Italian cello repertoire from this period, it is rare for the solo part and the continuo to play in parallel thirds. Where the bass does have a more melodic, rather than simple harmonic-support role, the parts move independently (Example 4.20). [18] Conversely, in the French repertoire, passages of parallel thirds are so common that they may be considered a feature of the French cello repertoire throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. It is interesting that they are found in the continuo sonata repertoire, as passages in parallel thirds are a particular feature of the duo texture. This is a French trait which extends beyond the cello repertoire alone. In discussing the violin sonatas by Somis, Burdette notes that "passages in which the two parts are conducted in parallel thirds, sixths, or tenths for several measures, common in duo writing, are found" and adds "as are chains of suspensions, long passages of pure figuration, some in triplet rhythms, and *Trommelbass* passages." [19]



Example 4.20: Vivaldi, Sonata I, *Largo.* Location: page 1, system 3.

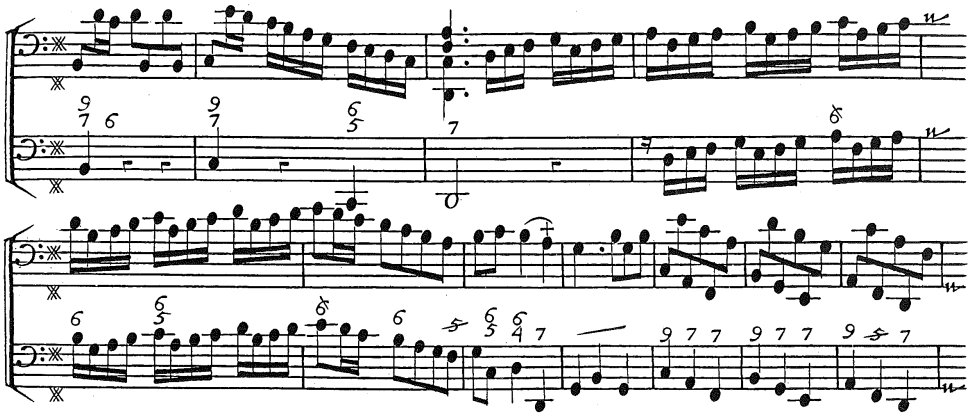
All of these French traits are found even in the most resolutely Italianate of French sonatas. [20] In Sonata III of Barrière's Livre III, which is the most Italianate of his collections, the third movement is rich in thirds-writing, suggesting the composer still desired to incorporate a Gallic element even into this very Italianate collection. In his Livre I, Sonata III, the continuo imitates the solo two beats later and a third below (Example 4.21; the noteworthy passage begins in the third bar of the example, continuing into the sixth bar.) Again in Livre I, this time in Sonata IV, parallel thirds between the solo and bass are a feature of the final movement (Example 4.22). In this case, there is not a 'pursuing' feel as in Example 4.21. In Livre IV, almost the entire *Aria-gratioso* movement of Sonata I runs in parallel thirds, the exceptions being the cadence points and four bars of broken arpeggios in the second

18. Unless they are in unison, as discussed in 4.2.

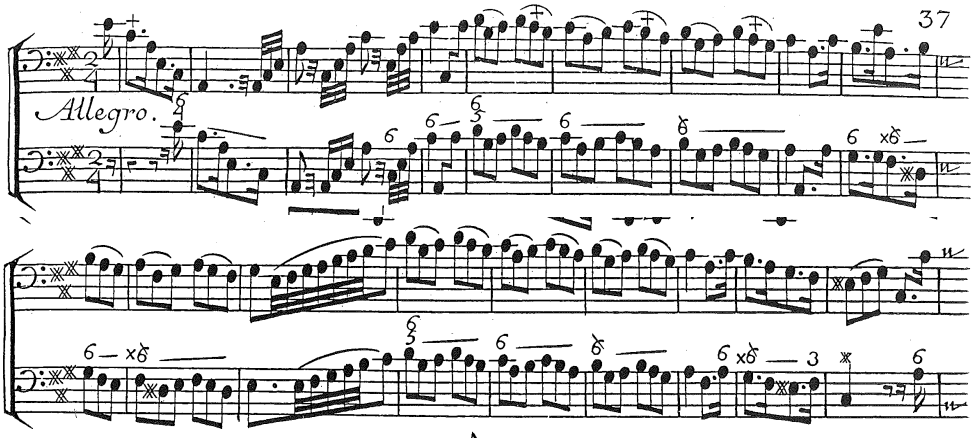
19. Burdette, p. iii.

20. In spite of Barrière's Livres III and IV having many Italianate elements, they also have many French characteristics, as is shown here.

half. Even when *bariolage* is added in the solo cello part (from bar 13, second half) the thirds are maintained (Example 4.23).

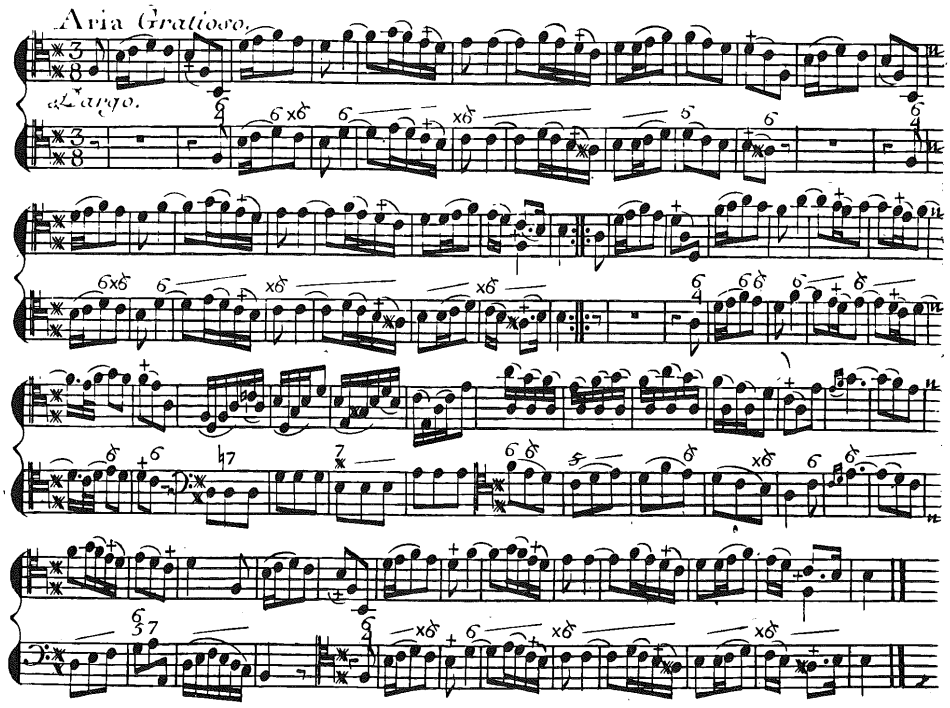


Example 4.21: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata III, *Allegro*, showing the solo cello and the continuo bass playing in thirds, in an imitative passage. Location: page 15, third and fourth systems.



Example 4.22: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata VI, *Allegro*, showing parallel thirds writing between the continuo and solo. Location: page 37, first system and third system.

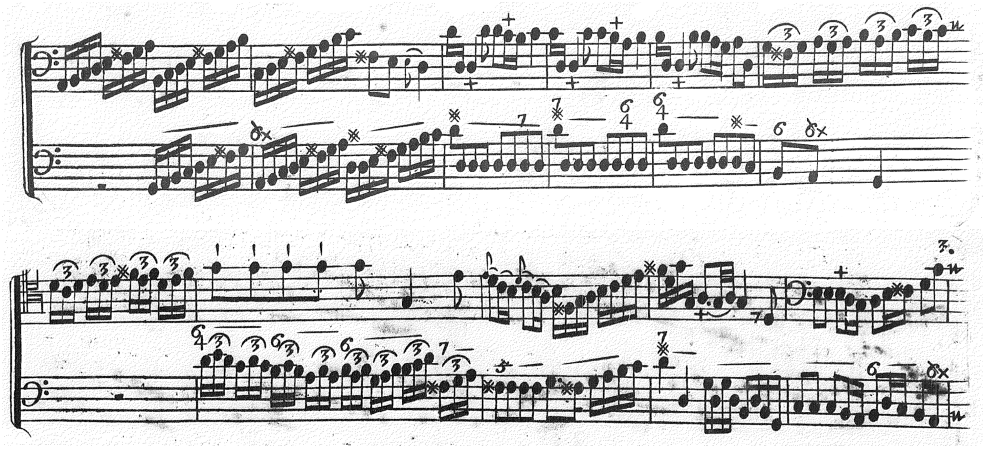
Masse's sonatas, among the more 'Gallic' sonatas for cello from this time, are particularly rich in parallel thirds between the two parts. In the second movement of Sonata I in Op. 1, the thirds passages are brief (bars 1–2, 9 and 11 of the extract), rather than sustained throughout the movement as in the Barrière examples discussed above (Example 4.24). Yet in this Masse example, the thirds are still unmistakably a part of the overall texture. They are an integral element in a shifting variety of interplays between solo cello



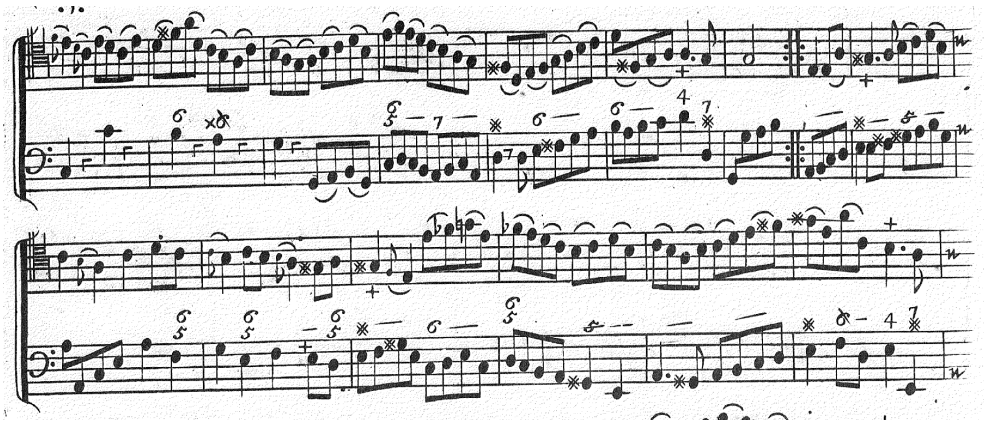
Example 4.23: Barrière, Livre IV, Sonata I, *Aria gratioso.* Location: page 3, systems 4–7.

and continuo unique to the French sonatas. The following *Aria* movement in Sonata I has the two parts not only thirds, but also in tenths (Example 4.25).

If thirds are a prominent feature in Example 4.25, the *Largo* from Sonata V, on the other hand, shows thirds unobtrusively appearing in a texture where they are not the main feature (Example 4.26). In direct contrast to this, a fairly long continuous phrase in thirds, texturally 'apart' from the rest of the movement, occurs in Op. 2, Sonata IV, in the fourth movement *(Allegro)* (Example 4.27). Here, the abrupt contrast is used for telling effect. Masse juxtaposes texture, tessitura and style in the dramatic—and concerto-like—opening 14 bars. The thirds writing, originally a Gallic device, is used here perhaps more for musical effect rather than Gallic effect. Once again, a device with French origins is used by a French cellist, not in pursuit of further gallicization, but rather to further the virtuosic and even dramatic aims of the mid-century cello sonata. Other than this, and a three-bar passage in parallel thirds towards the end of the movement, there are no extended passages of parallel thirds between the solo and bass in this movement: the thirds passage is distinct from the rest of the movement. The abrupt contrast



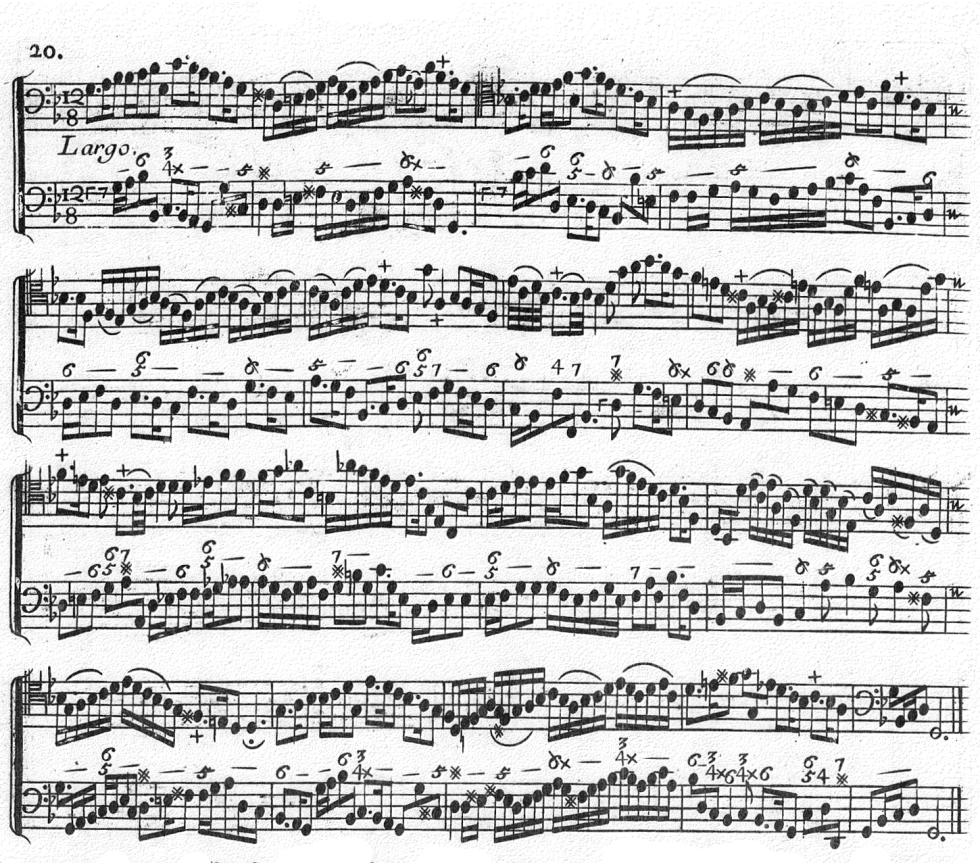
Example 4.24: Masse, Op. 1, Sonata I, *Allegro ma non presto.* Location: page 2, final system, and page 3, first system.



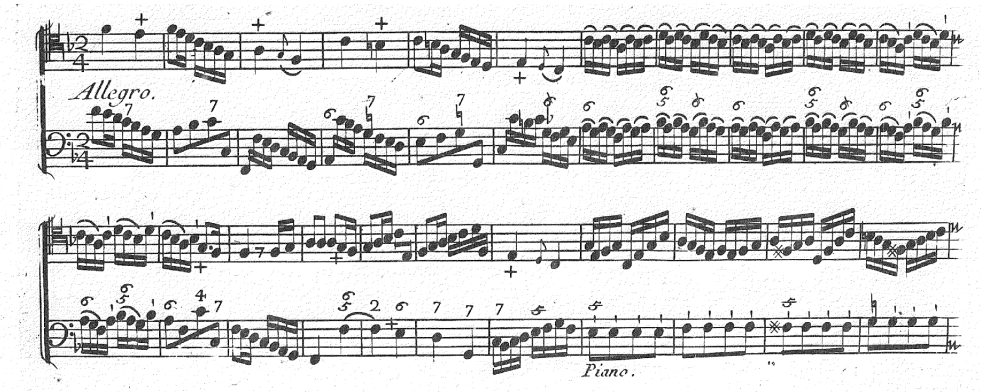
Example 4.25: Masse, Op. 1, Sonata I, *Aria.* Location: page 4, systems 2–3.

is the whole point—Masse quite cleverly juxtaposes texture, tessitura and style in the quite dramatic and concerto-like opening fourteen bars.

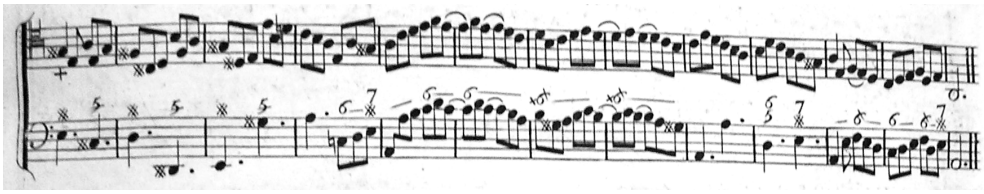
An interesting use of this thirds texture occurs when both the solo and bass parts, playing in consecutive thirds, are both in the higher register, on the A-string of both cellos. This provides a particularly interesting contrast, in a genre where the overall range and the range of the solo part are much more limited than in violin sonatas (See Section 4.3). A noteworthy example of this is in the first movement of Masse's Op. 5, Sonata III (Example 4.28). Interestingly, it is followed by a unison passage (a typically Italianate gesture) which ends the movement.



Example 4.26: Masse, Op. 1, Sonata V, *Largo.* Location: page 20, systems 1–4.



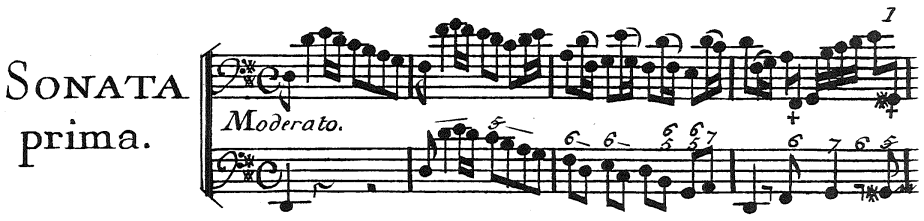
Example 4.27: Masse, Op. 2, *Allegro.* Location: page 16, systems 5–6.



Example 4.28: Masse, Op. 5, Sonata III, *Giga–Allegro ma non tropo* [sic]. Location: page 7, system 2.

Most passages of parallel thirds in the French cello sonatas are not long, merely lasting a few bars.[21] These short passages, scattered throughout the movements, lend a distinctive texture to the French sonatas. They are not merely decorative; rather, just like the releasing of the second cello discussed above, thirds passages are often used to highlight the structure of a movement. In other cases, they are juxtaposed with other textures for dramatic effect.

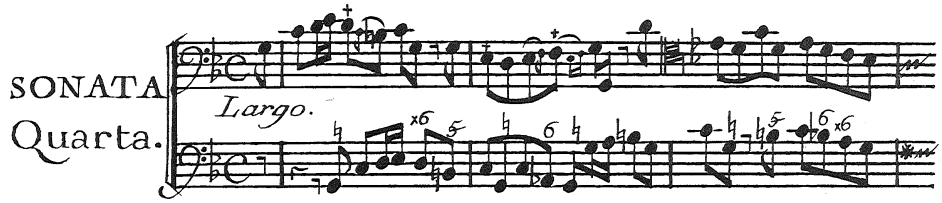
Parallel thirds textures, being not a virtuosic device in themselves, are not confined to the virtuosic sonatas.[22] A similar very short example of parallel thirds occurs in Boismortier's Op. 26, Sonata I, in the opening of the first movement (Example 4.29). A similar example occurs in Op. 50, Sonata V [labelled *Sonata Quarta* in the print] (Example 4.30).



Example 4.29: Boismortier, Op. 26, Sonata I, *Moderato.* Location: page 1, system 1.

In contrast to these brief snippets, in the final movement (*Gigue*) from Spourny's Sonata III in Op. 9, long stretches of parallel thirds can be found (Example 4.31). Here, as is often the case in these sonatas, the structure is created out of changing textures: the opening phrase is in parallel thirds, while in the answering phrase only one part (first the solo, then the bass) moves in quavers, while the other part accompanies in dotted crotchets. A similar pattern occurs in the second half, where two phrases in parallel thirds alternate with phrases where the two parts 'answer' each other, first in sub-phrases as in the first half, then in alternating bars. The juxtaposition

21. Some longer passages, mostly in the sonatas of Barrière, have been discussed above.
22. Indeed, Opp. 3–5 by Masse are certainly not virtuosic collections.



Example 4.30: Boismortier, Op. 50, Sonata V [Quarta], *Largo.* Location: page 17, system 3.

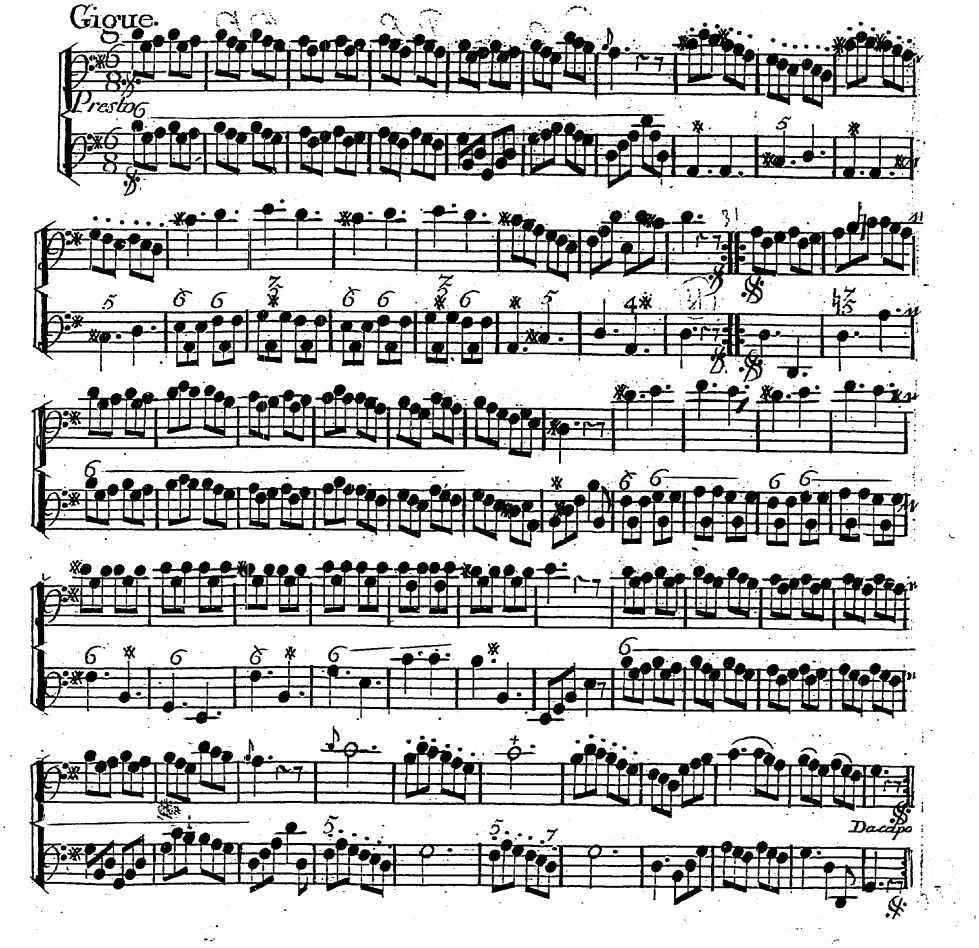
of the thirds and non-thirds phrases in this movement gives it shape and direction.

Unisons and Octaves

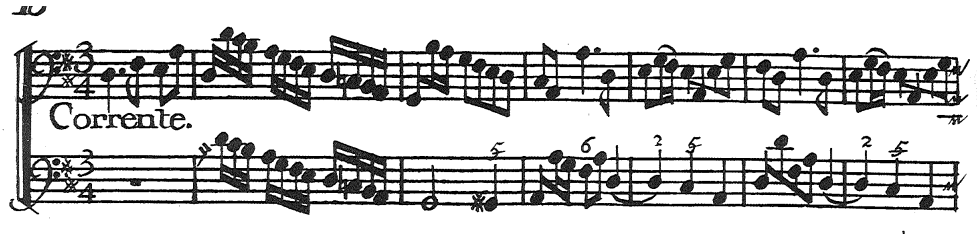
As we have seen, passages of consecutive thirds are a unique feature of the French cello repertoire from this period, being extremely rare in the Italian and other non-French sonatas. On the other hand, unison passages are characteristic and common in the Italian cello repertoire. When they appear in French sonatas, it is often to deliberately evoke the Italian style. However, as in most other aspects of cello technique and style in this era, the French did not simply imitate, they also made innovations. As the century progressed, and the expanded upper register of the cello began to be explored more frequently, French cellist-composers experimented with passages in parallel octaves (instead of unisons), with the solo doubling the continuo at the upper octave, more in the manner of sonatas for the violin and other treble instruments. While the octave unison is a common device in music of this period, it may be considered an innovation when used in the cello sonatas.

At the opening of the *Corrente* movement from Boismortier's Sonata III in Op. 50, the solo and continuo have a unison descending scale over an octave and a half (Example 4.32). This answers the opening bar, where the solo cello plays unaccompanied. Perhaps significantly, this occurs in a *Corrente,* a dance with especially Italianate association, in contrast to the French *Courante,* the favourite dance of Louis XIV.

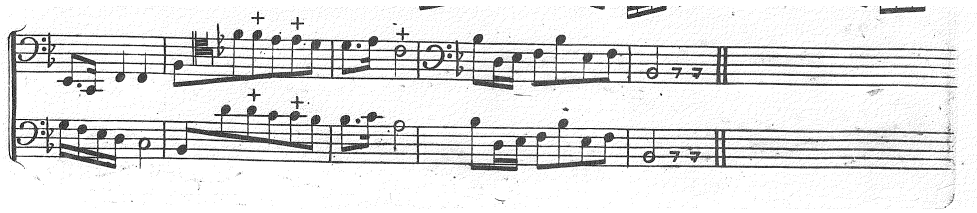
As mentioned earlier, Masse frequently employs the typical Italian device of a unison conclusion of a movement (see Examples 4.26 and 4.28). In the Op. 3 duos, the two cellos end the opening *Allegro ma non presto* movement of Sonata II with a unison figure at the cadence (Example 4.33). The final movement in this sonata, *Allegro,* also ends with a unison phrase, this time in the lowest register of the cello, on the C-string (Example 4.34).



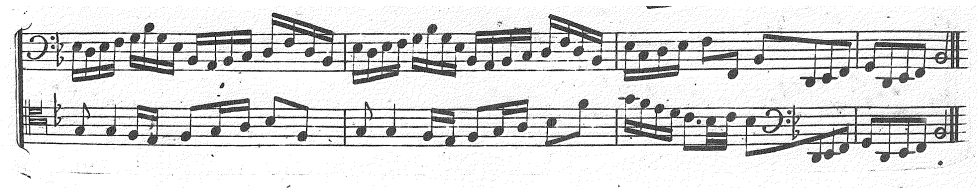
Example 4.31: Spourny, Op. 9, Sonata III, *Gigue.* Location: page 11, systems 3–7.



Example 4.32: Boismortier, Op. 50, Sonata III, *Corrente,* showing a unison scale between the continuo and solo parts, after the initial unaccompanied opening. Location: page 10, first system.

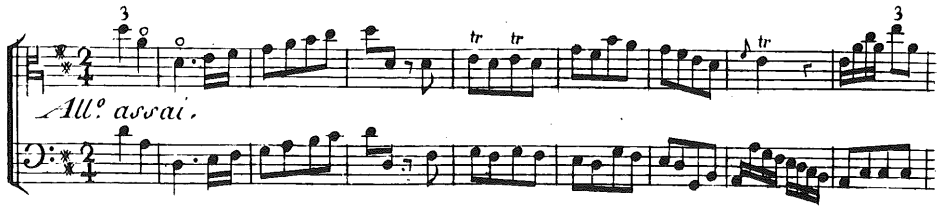


Example 4.33: Masse, Op. 3, Sonata II, *Allegro ma non presto.* Location: page 7, final system on page.



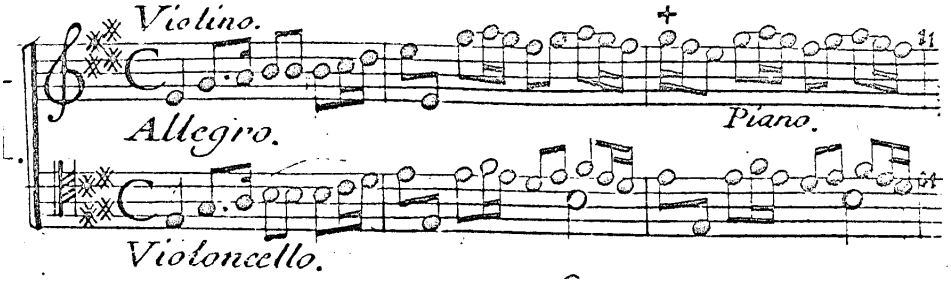
Example 4.34: Masse, Op. 3, Sonata II, *Allegro.* Location: page 11, final system on page.

The unison at the octave, which may require the solo cello to play in its upper register in the thumb positions, as is the case in the Berteau sonatas, introduces an element of virtuosity. In the opening phrase of the fourth movement of Sonata I, Berteau takes advantage of the expanded upper register afforded by the thumb positions, still a relative novelty at the time, to write octaves between the cello and continuo lines; the subsequent phrase continues the parallel motion, first in sixths and then in tenths (Example 4.35). The opening phrase closely resembles writing in a violin sonata. In Martin's Sonata VI, the same octave unison texture, progressive by thirds, can be found. (Example 4.36).

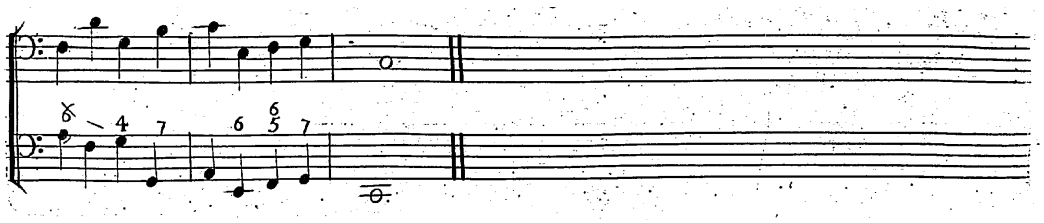


Example 4.35: Berteau, Sonata I, *Allegro assai.* Location: page 4, system 4.

However, not all octaves passages are virtuosic; some place both cello parts in the lowest registers, as at the close of the *Fuga* (second movement) in Baur's Sonata I and the D- and C-string registers are involved (Example 4.37).



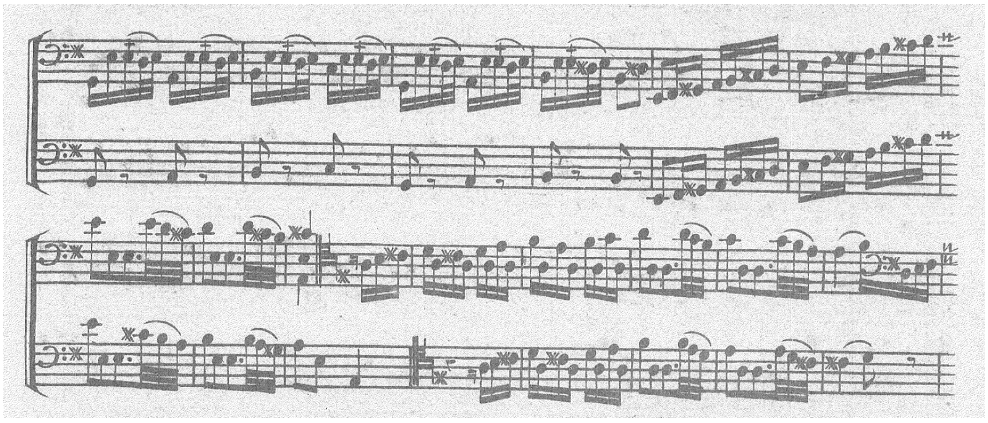
Example 4.36: Martin, Sonata VI, *Allegro*. Location: page 26.



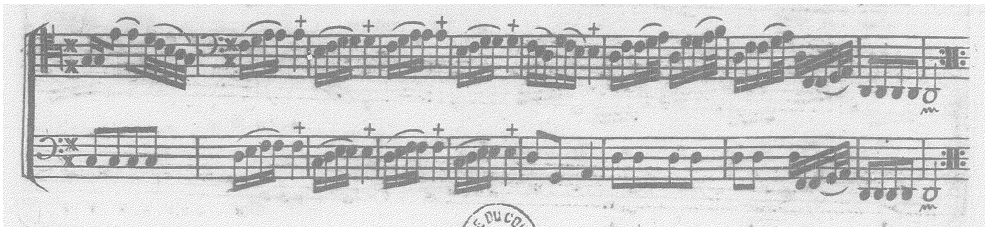
Example 4.37: Baur, Sonata I, *Fuga*, showing parallel octaves conclusion to the movement, using the middle and low registers of the solo and continuo cellos respectively. Is it helpful if I include more of this, i.e. the previous line as well?

Rarely can unisons (and octaves) be found in the course of a movement. One instance occurs in the first movement of Blainville's first sonata (duo), where there is a sudden two-octave unison scale for the two cellos mid-way through the second half of the movement (Example 4.38). There is the more conventional use of unison writing at the end of the opening movement (and half-close) in Sonata II (Example 4.39). As in Masse's writing (c.f. Example 4.34), the lowest resister is favoured. Both of these low-register examples (Masse and Blainville) occur in duos, probably because there would be no chordal instruments playing chords above the low passage, as in a continuo sonata. Another low-register example occurs in Blainville's collection, although this is not so much a phrase as a single repeated unison note—a low F (Example 4.40). However, throughout the final phrase, the *lower* part of the first cello's double stops are doubled by the second cello.

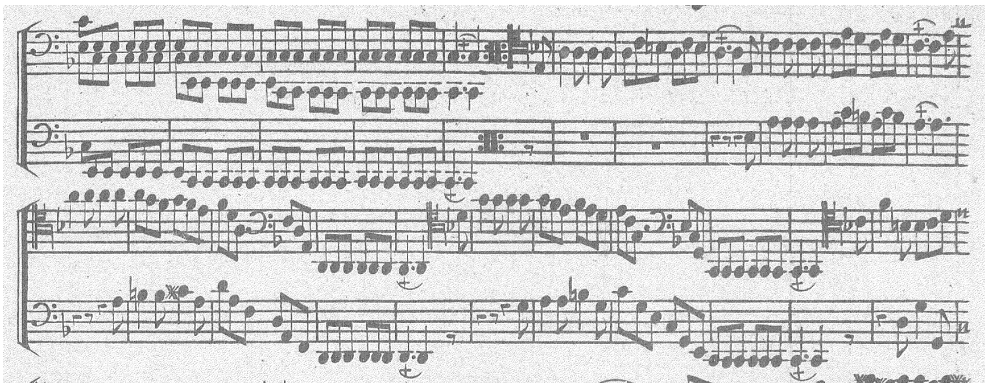
Most of the unisons so far discussed have been used for effect: to punctuate an opening or closing phrase, as a one-off feature in the middle of a movement. However, one movement which uses a recurring unison passage as a theme is the opening *Allegro* in Giraud's Sonata III (the whole movement is shown in Example 4.41). Here, it is not only the opening and closing phrase, but is continually returned to, in the dominant and the relative minor as well as the tonic. Parallel thirds are also a strong feature of the movement.



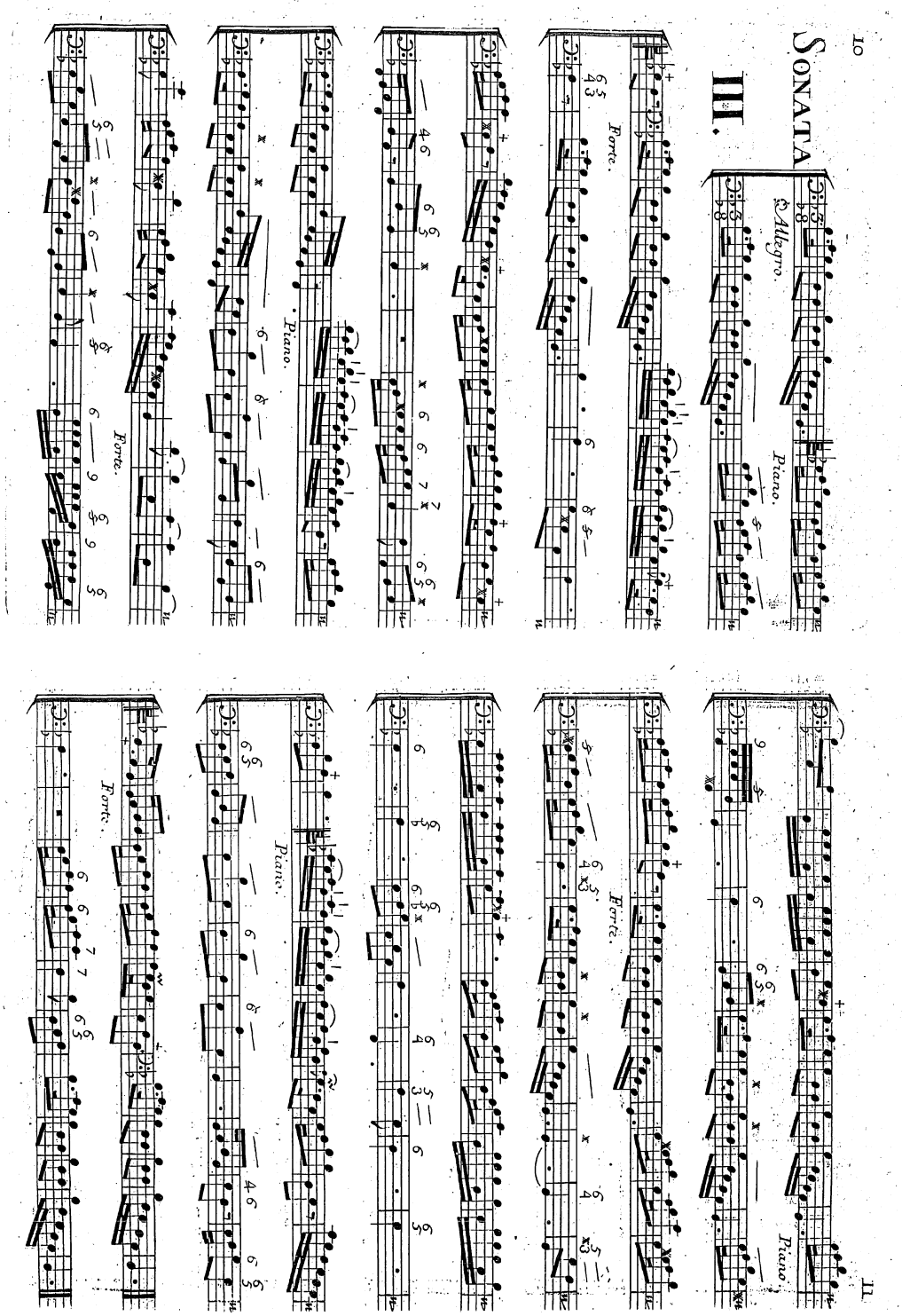
Example 4.38: Blainville, Sonata I, *Allegro,* showing unison two-octave scale and surrounding context. Location: page 3, systems 2–3.



Example 4.39: Blainville, Sonata II, *Andante,* showing unison ending to the movement. (The half-close concludes with a similar passage in the dominant, a fifth higher). Location: page 7, final system on page.



Example 4.40: Blainville, Sonata III, *Caccia–Allegro.* Location: page 13, systems 2–3.



Example 4.41: Giraud, Sonata III, *Allegro.* Location: pages 10–11.

4.3 Range and Tessitura

The violin sonata forms the principal model, in terms of genre, on which the French cello sonata was based.[23] The eighteenth-century solo violin sonata derives much of its characteristic sound from the polarity between the treble solo and the bass accompaniment. This is also true of sonatas for other treble instruments, including the flute and violin, as well as the hurdy-gurdy, musette and *pardessus de viole.* In contrast, the cello sonata in this period is an anomaly: the solo line is placed entirely in the tenor-bass register; that is, in a similar range and tessitura to the continuo bass. It is only from the 1740s onwards that the higher registers began to be explored, and sonatas making use of the alto and later soprano registers remained exceptional before 1760. Because the continuo part is also in a similar tessitura to the solo in most cello sonatas from this period, this aural polarity between the treble solo and the bass accompaniment greatly diminished. The French-cellist composers sought innovative ways to compensate for this loss of treble-bass polarity, so as to keep the sonatas interesting.

One solution to this issue of range and tessitura was to differentiate the solo cello by keeping it in the tenor range, and thus above the continuo cello, in a texture similar to a tenor aria. Even so, the solo cello was still left with a range more limited than the violin in its solo sonatas. It was curtailed in its lowest notes by the need to stay above the continuo, and in its upper limits by current performance techniques.[24] This solution was particularly effective in slow movements, since the largely *cantabile* nature of these solo lines did not demand a wide range. In many fast movements the solo line also was confined to this part of the instrument's tessitura. But this was less effective in fast movements, and so composers tended to explore the upper and lower registers, and thus arrived at another solution to the problem of uniform tessitura for solo and continuo cello.

In the fast movements, French cellist-composers exploited the use of the upper and lower registers, using extremes for virtuosic effect and contrast. Indeed, thanks to the cello's wide compass when used to the full, the question of tessitura becomes one of the most interesting of this study. Once freed from the constraints of keeping the cello in the tenor register alone, the early French cellist-composers could imaginatively write for the solo below the continuo line and exploit the matching sonority and pitch between the solo and continuo cellos for dialogue purposes. They also expanded the

23. As has been discussed above, the French viol suite had only a limited influence on cello style and idiom in France.

24. The use of the first thumb-position, with the thumb on the half-string harmonic, which gives the notes an octave below the violin's third position, is confined to only a few cello sonatas published prior to 1760. Thumb technique is discussed in Section 4.4.

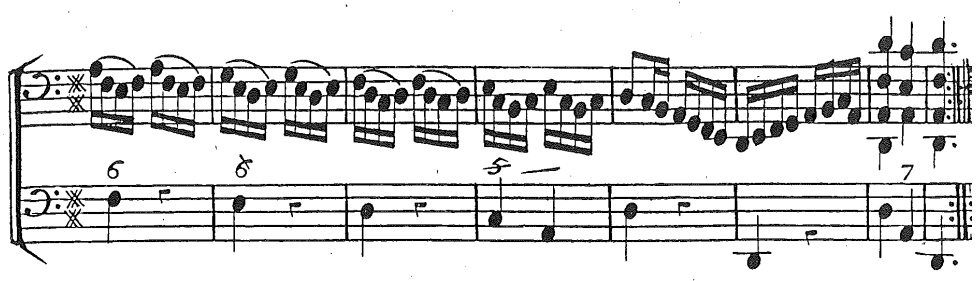
range of the cello in the upper register, first using the 'upper' neck positions above the fourth position, and later developing the use of thumb positions. Interestingly, as the cello's upper register expanded, those who wrote for the cello felt less need to incorporate the lower register, and cello sonatas became more like violin sonatas in a slightly lower tessitura and lost many of the distinctive qualities discussed in this chapter. But the use of the extreme upper registers is more a trait of the later eighteenth century than the early or mid century. In this early, lesser-known period, far from the music being uninteresting because the thumb positions were little used, many distinctive features can be found. Indeed, it can be argued that it was not that the French had yet to 'discover' the thumb positions, but rather, their aim was to explore maximum virtuosity in the instrument's 'natural' middle and lower registers.

Incorporation of the Low Register

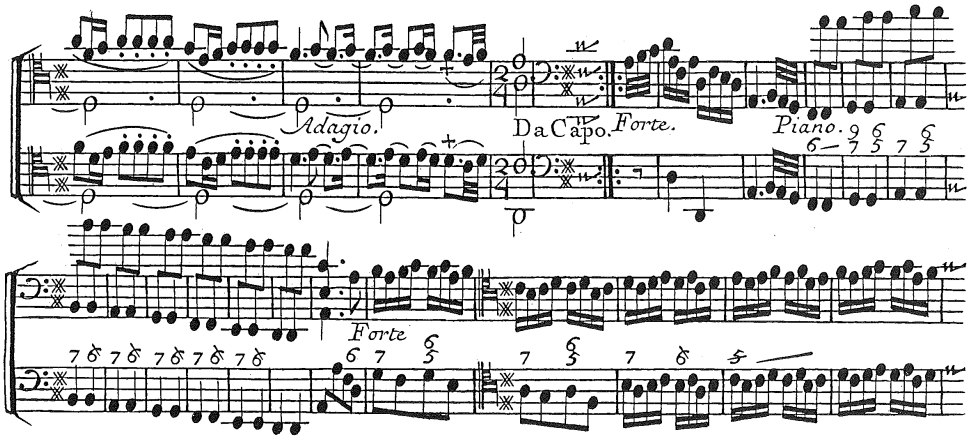
The most obvious way to expand this tenor range, without extending the technique, is to incorporate notes from the lowest register. This was most commonly through sudden leaps to the lower strings, while keeping the melodic material on the two upper strings (and out of the tessitura of the continuo part). This is a trait shared with the Italian cello sonatas from the same period. However, in those Italian sonatas published in Paris, this is the *only* use of the lower register, and it is confined to downwards leaps, normally of an octave, at cadence points. In contrast, the French composers for the cello used the lower register with considerably more inventiveness. In this light it is interesting to note that comments in the second half of the century indicated the French did not like to use the C-string; as shown here, the frequency with which the C-string is used in the pre-1760 repertoire implies that this reluctance actually came in later part of the century, probably due to the fact that the expanded upper range gave them less need of an expanded tessitura in the lower register. The following paragraphs detail some ways in which the French composers incorporated the low registers into their sonatas.

In the final rondo movement (marked *Allegro*) of Barrière's Sonata IV in Livre I, the refrain ends with a descending scale which reaches the low D on the C-string, before a three-chord flourish (Example 4.42). It does not actually go below the continuo part, which also has the low D at this point, but is nonetheless a very effective and creative use of the lowest register, in a way that does not occur in the Italian sonatas. Moreover, it contrasts spectacularly with the high passage in the final *couplet*, which reaches to a high *d''* (Example 4.43).

There is a different usage in Patouart's first sonata: in the final *Giga* movement, the solo cello repeatedly descends in an arpeggio figure to the open C-string (Example 4.44). (The melodic movement is very leapwise



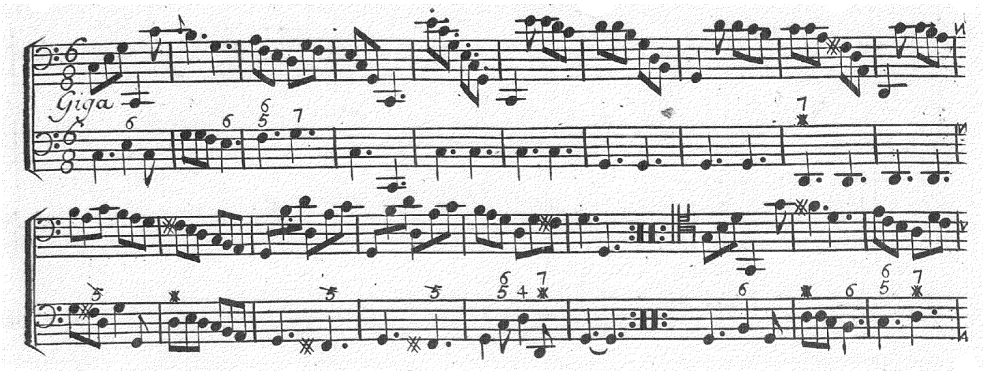
Example 4.42: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata IV, *Allegro,* conclusion to refrain, showing a low-register scale in the concluding bars, followed by a chordal finish. Location: page 25, first system.



Example 4.43: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata IV, *Allegro,* showing a high *brisure* passage in the final couplet, which contrasts, in terms of register, with the low scale passage in the refrain (Example 4.42). Location: page 25, systems 4–5.

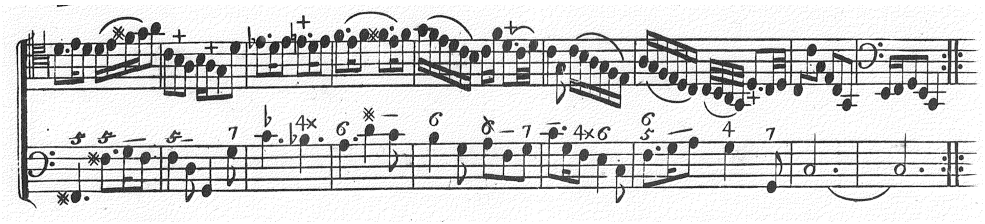
anyway). Other low notes, including open *G*s and stopped *F*s and *D*s are also used. In most cases the low note is doubled in the continuo part, but there are a few times, such as in the first bar (and in the same place after the repeat sign), where the solo cello sounds considerably lower than the continuo part.

Masse incorporates the low register by having the solo cello in a melodic descent to the low final note at the end of a movement. (This contrasts with the Italian sonata movements where there is frequently a downwards octave leap but not a descending figure, at a cadential close.) Two descending figures occur at the end of the opening movement in Op. 1, in all spanning two octaves (Example 4.45). Similar are the low arpeggios at the close of the *Allegro ma non presto* movement of Sonata II, also from Op. 1 (Example 4.46), which create a sense of grounding and finality and those at the end of the *Presto,* Sonata VI Op. 2 (Example 4.47). The *Allegro ma non tropo*

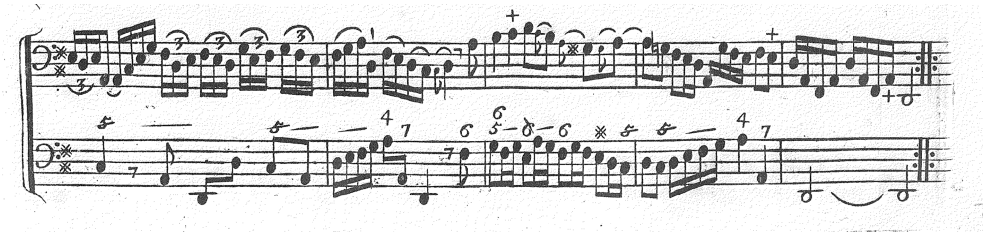


Example 4.44: Patouart, Op. 1, Sonata I, *Gigue*, showing the use of sudden low notes within a leapwise melody. Location: page 3, second and third systems on page.

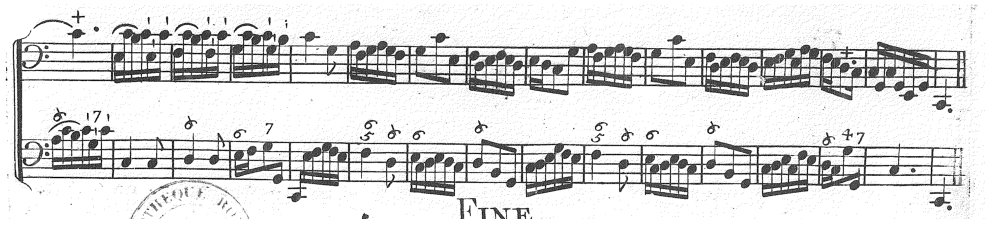
movement (second movement) from the second sonata in Op. 2 concludes with a descending scalic figure; in this case the continuo cello plays in unison with the soloist in the final two bars (Example 4.48). This device of a considerable descent to the lowest register at the close of a movement seems a favourite of Masse's but does not appear in any other French cello sonatas from this era.



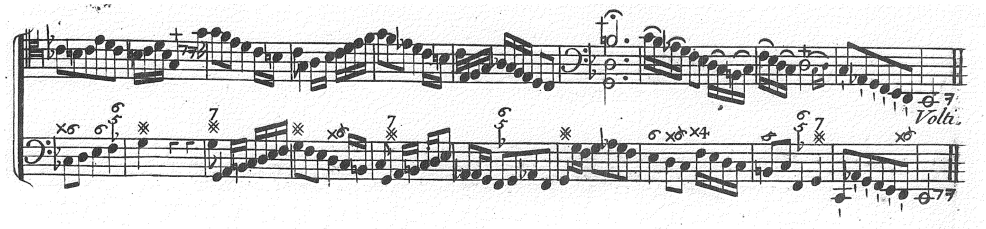
Example 4.45: Masse, Op. 1, Sonata I, *Andante*, showing arpeggio descent to the open C string at the end of this opening movement. Location: page 2, fourth system [final system of the movement].



Example 4.46: Masse, Op. 1, Sonata II, *Allegro ma non presto*, showing low-register arpeggios at the close of the movement. Location: page 7, final system on page.



Example 4.47: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata VI, *Presto,* showing the use of the low register at the end of the movement. Location: page 25, final system.

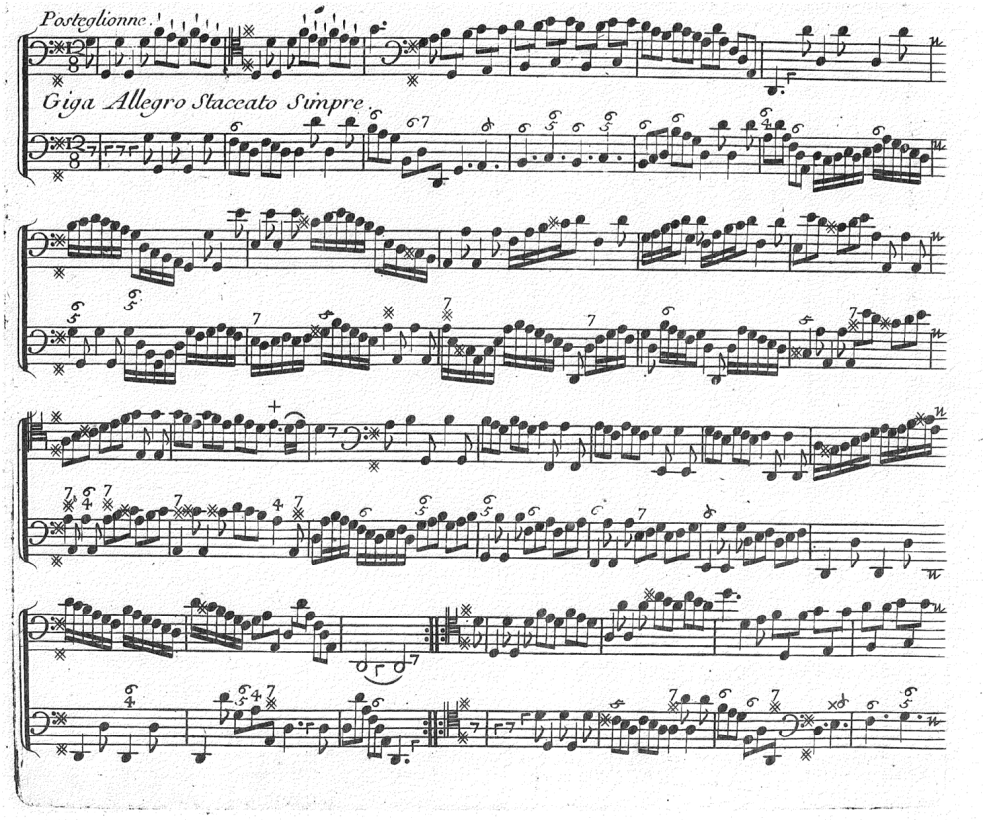


Example 4.48: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata II, *Allegro ma non tropo,* showing a scale down to the low C at the close of the movement, played by the solo cello and continuo group in unison. Location: page 7, final system on page.

At other times, Masse uses the low register as a feature within the course of a movement: it is incorporated into the movement itself. In Sonata III in Op. 2, two phrases in the first half of the the *Giga Allegro Staccato Simpre (Posteglionne)* end with the downwards arpeggio to the lowest D, and there are frequent leaps to notes on the C-string in the middle of phrases (Example 4.49). These are in passages where the solo and continuo are in imitation of each other, but at the moments where the solo cello is playing the low notes, it is well below the continuo part (and vice versa). (This movement is in stark contrast to the previous movement, which never uses the lower two strings at all, and remains for the most part above *g.)*

A very interesting use of the low register occurs in the first sonata (duo) from Blainville's Op. 1 (Example 4.50). It is not at the conclusion of a phrase, but fully integrated into the movement. The passage has an experimental feel, especially in combination with the *bariolage* technique. It is likely that Blainville would have written *bariolage* on the low *D*s as well (in the second line of the extract), if the tuning of the cello allowed it.[25] In a further use of the low register, the movement also concludes with a series of broken

25. This, however, would require two separate strings capable of playing the low *D*, so the use of the *A* instead of another *D* is a compromise.



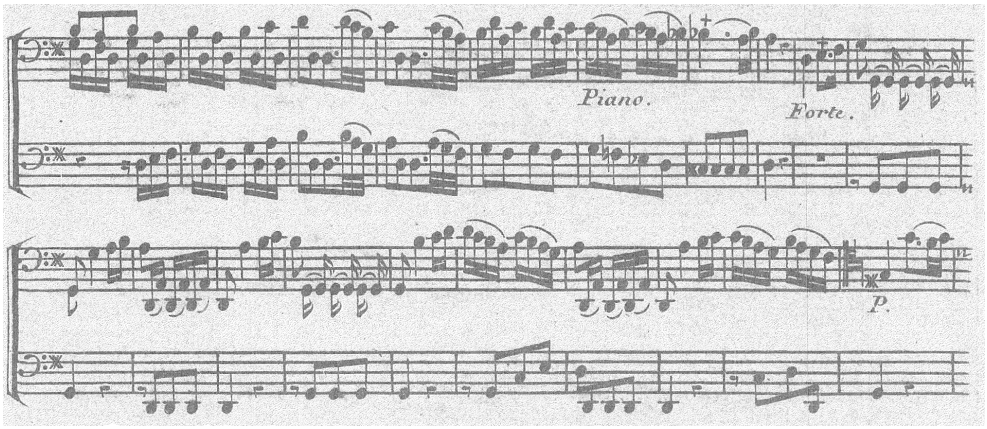
Example 4.49: Masse, *Giga allegro staccato simpre (Posteglionne)* from Sonata III in Op. 2

arpeggios on the two lowest strings, followed by a series of chords (Example 4.51).

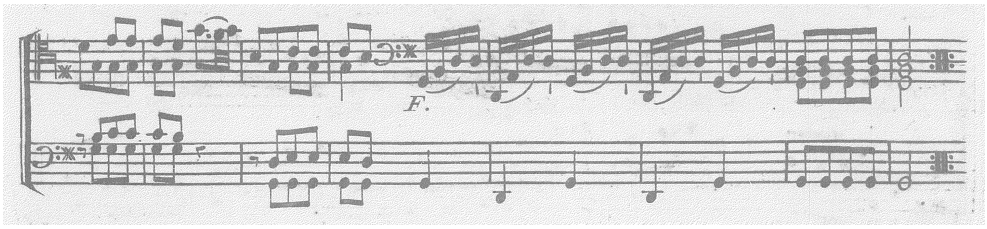
In the final movement *(Caccia)* of Sonata III, there is a passage where the two cellos alternate C-string notes in unison (Example 4.52). The technique used here has similarities with that used by Masse in Example 4.49. Two other examples come from the collection of Jean Baur. There is an isolated low C in the *Largo* movement of Sonata I, far below the continuo line. And, although it is not in the lowest register, it is still noteworthy that the *Allegro* section of the first movement in Sonata IV begins the fugal theme, unaccompanied, in the G-string tessitura.

The Expansion of the Upper Register

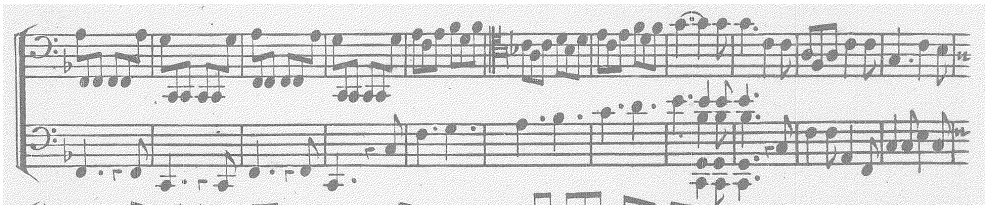
While the use of the lower register is what imparted depth, richness and profundity to cello sonatas, it was most likely the upper register that attracted



Example 4.50: Blainville, Op. 1, Sonata I, *Allegro,* showing the use of the low register in an experimental passage combined with the bariolage technique. Location: page 3, systems 4–5.



Example 4.51: Blainville, Op. 1, Sonata I, *Allegro,* first movement, showing broken arpeggios involving the lower register, before the repeated chords at the conclusion of the movement. Location: page 3, final system on page.



Example 4.52: Blainville, Op. 1, Sonata III, *Caccia.* Location: system 6.

more attention from players and audiences alike. The eighteenth century had a fascination with expanding the upper register of all instruments and voices. In the case of the cello, this is especially salient: what had formerly been a bass instrument was now more and more free to sing also in the treble register. It was largely in the second half of the century that the extreme upper registers of the cello were incorporated fully. But nonetheless, the groundwork was laid in certain sonatas composed in the first half of the century, and in technical developments that happened at this time. While there are whole sets of sonatas that uniformly utilize the higher neck positions, taking the range and tessitura to *c″*, sonatas which used the thumb positions, rising above that *c″*, were considered virtuosic and only one was usually included in each book.

If we take the 'standard' range—that is, the range that is found even in the simplest of cello sonatas, and perhaps not uncoincidentally the exact same range of an average continuo bass part—to be from the open C-string up to *g′*, the highest note in the the standard neck positions,[26] then the 'higher' neck positions are those positions above this, but which still do not require the use of the thumb as a playing finger (thumb position is discussed separately in Section 4.4. Many of those sonatas which do use these notes between *g′* and *c″* still sit mostly in the tenor tessitura, with or often without use of the bass registers as discussed above. The Masse Op. 1 and Op. 2 sonatas consistently use a tessitura that rises to *b″* or *c″*. Patouart also uses the notes up to *c″* as part of the overall tessitura; interestingly, and in contrast to Masse, many of these imply the use of the thumb, although the 'octave' thumb position, one octave above the first position, is never required.

Some later sonatas, notably those of Berteau, shift the tessitura higher, into the 'alto' register. In such a case, the tessitura stays largely in the range of the A-string. This does not mean that the A-string is the only string used, however, since higher pitches on the D-string may be played, especially where thumb position is used. Essentially, these sonatas and movements fall within the range of the violin, although the timbre of the cello gives them a depth and richness that cannot be approximated by playing them on the violin. These movements or whole sonatas in the 'alto' tessitura eschew the lower strings, a feature shared with the late eighteenth-century French cello school.

*

The texture of French cello sonatas from this period was often enriched by variations on the typical two-voice texture (solo and bass) which is the

26. That is, the highest note in the modern fourth position, and according to the fingering systems of Lanzetti and Corrette the highest note in the third position (using a diatonic fingering pattern).

sole texture in many Italian cello sonatas of this time. Chief among these is the releasing of the second cello to play an inner line, often in thirds with the solo cello. This use of the released cello, and the change in texture it provides, is often used to highlight key structural points. In addition, parallel thirds are frequently used between the solo and continuo lines; this is a typically French texture.

The French also innovated to accommodate the loss of aural polarity between treble and bass due to the instrument's lower tessitura. While some sonata movements, typically slow movements, remain in a 'tenor' register, above the continuo line, composers also experimented with ways to incorporate the cello's lowest register. Due to the influence of the *galant* style and the taste for lighter, thinner textures, cellists increasingly explored the upper registers, first through the use of the upper neck positions, and later, the use of thumb positions and natural harmonics. As the use of the upper registers increased, the overall tessitura of cello sonatas also rose, a trend which would continue in the second half of the century.

4.4 The Extreme Upper Registers

Thumb Position

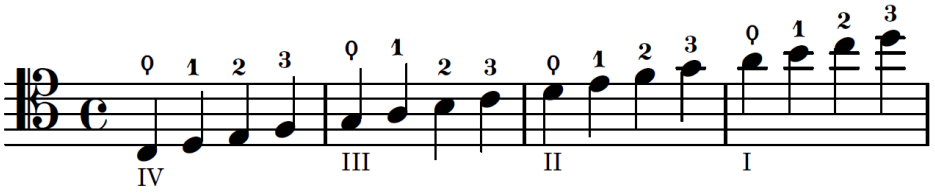
One of the chief ways in which the technique of the cello was extended, and what was originally a bass instrument whose role was to accompany the violin was transformed into an instrument capable of the virtuosity sought by the Parisian audiences of the mid eighteenth century, was by extending its range at the upper extreme, through the use of the thumb positions. At this point a brief explanation of thumb-position is required. Thumb-position involves the use of the thumb as both an anchor and a playing finger. It is used mostly for notes above the half-string harmonic, although, as outlined below, can also be used in the lower positions. Most likely this technique developed because beyond the point where the neck joins the body, it is no longer possible to place the thumb behind or alongside the neck, as in the lower positions. Cellists quickly realized that this unused thumb could be used both as an anchor for the left hand, and as an additional playing finger. All instruments underwent an extension of range during the course of the eighteenth century. However, of all instruments it was arguably the cello which experienced the most spectacular increase in range, adding almost two octaves at the upper end by the very end of the century, as compared with the range in the 1720s.[27] Most of this expansion of range happened in the

27. That is, if we take the range in the 1720s to be up to the harmonic a' (as described in Mattheson, and as the extant sonatas witness to), and the extended range at the end of the eighteenth century to be to the harmonic a''' as found in many virtuosic sonatas of that era.

second half of the century; nonetheless, it was in the first half of the century that the groundwork in technique was laid, in terms of the implementation and development of thumb technique. Furthermore, it was largely the French who influenced this development. Indeed, most of the developments in thumb position before 1760 seem to be confined to French cellists, or those, like Lanzetti, who had contact with Paris. However, it is important to point out that, in spite of the importance of the early French cellists in developing thumb position, the majority of cello sonatas published before 1760 do not use thumb technique. This is in contrast to the period after 1760, when the use of the thumb positions becomes the norm, and only sonatas conceived for less advanced players, often marketed as 'easy' sonatas, confined themselves to the neck positions. The French sonatas composed before 1760 that use the thumb positions are those of Barrière (Sonata VI in Livre III, and Sonata VI in Livre IV), Martin (Sonatas III and IV), Patouart (Sonatas III–V), Blainville (Sonatas II and IV) and Berteau.

The Basic Thumb Position

In the French repertoire composed before 1760 (and indeed in all cello repertoire composed before this date), most of the passages using the thumb position make use of what may be termed the 'basic' thumb position. In this position, the thumb itself is placed across the harmonic *d′* and *a′* on the D-string and A-string respectively. The player can then play the notes between *d′* and *g′* on the D-string, and the notes between *a′* and *d″* on the A-string, as in Example 4.53.[28] Notes on the G- and C-strings can also be used, as occurs in Barrière's Livre IV, Sonata VI. As can be seen, this thumb position 'mirrors' the notes in the first position, one octave higher. As we shall discover later, some cellist-composers played on this octave relationship between the first position and the 'basic' thumb position for virtuosic effect.



Example 4.53: Fingering pattern for the basic thumb position across all four strings.

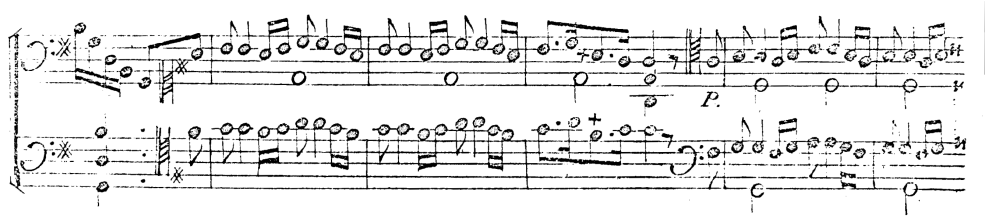
Most thumb-position passages in the French repertoire from before 1760 are notated in the C soprano clef, the clef-change being used to indicate the

28. If the fourth finger is used as well, an extra tone can be played on each string.

use of thumb-position. This is far from universal, however, and the only sure way of knowing that a passage is intended to be played in thumb position is because the range remains strictly in the octave from *d'* to *e''* for an extended period.

Thumb position is also used by Martin, although it is confined to two passages only (in two separate sonatas). In both of these cases, the thumb-position passages are notated in the soprano clef.[29] Both are in the 'basic' thumb position; Martin does not make any use of the higher thumb positions, although, as we shall see, there is innovative use of the lower thumb positions.

In Sonata III (the duo), there is a short passage in the third movement where the first cello plays in the basic thumb position, playing the melody on the A-string (which is doubled at the sixth below by the second cello), while playing the true bass of the texture on the D-string (Example 4.54). As noticeable towards the end of the extract, this is followed by an 'echo' passage one octave lower, playing on the octave relationship between the 'basic' thumb position and the first position.



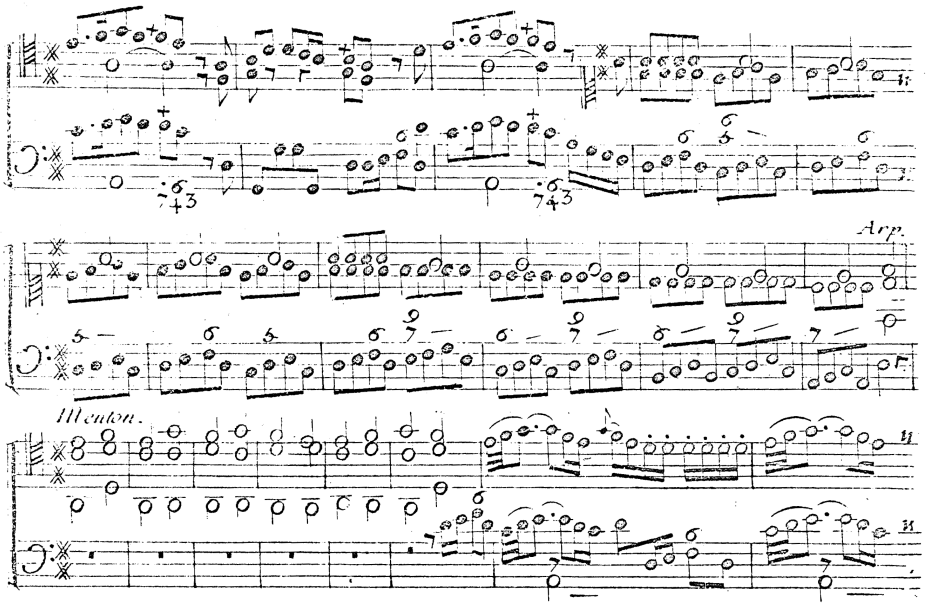
Example 4.54: Martin, Sonata III, *Allegro,* showing use of the basic thumb position. Location: page 13, system 5 (second from bottom).

A similar use of the thumb position occurs in the first movement of Sonata IV (Example 4.55). Again, it is clearly marked in the soprano clef, and again it uses double stopping with one string being a drone, this time the A-string. From bar 7 of the extract (the second complete bar on line 2), the player reaches back with the thumb, step-by-step, into the lower thumb positions, where it can remain for the arpeggios in line 3.[30]

One further passage in the Martin sonatas demands comment, due to its notation, although it is highly unlikely that it is a thumb position passage. In Sonata V, the final movement is a series of variations. The theme and all the variations are notated in the tenor clef, other than the third variation, which is in the treble clef (Example 4.56). Because of the sudden clef change, it is tempting to think that this variation is intended to be played at pitch, in

29. Martin also incorporates the high register and the upper positions through the use of natural harmonics, discussed below.

30. This 'crawling back' with the thumb is discussed in further detail below. The arpeggio passage and possible fingerings for it are discussed in 4.7.

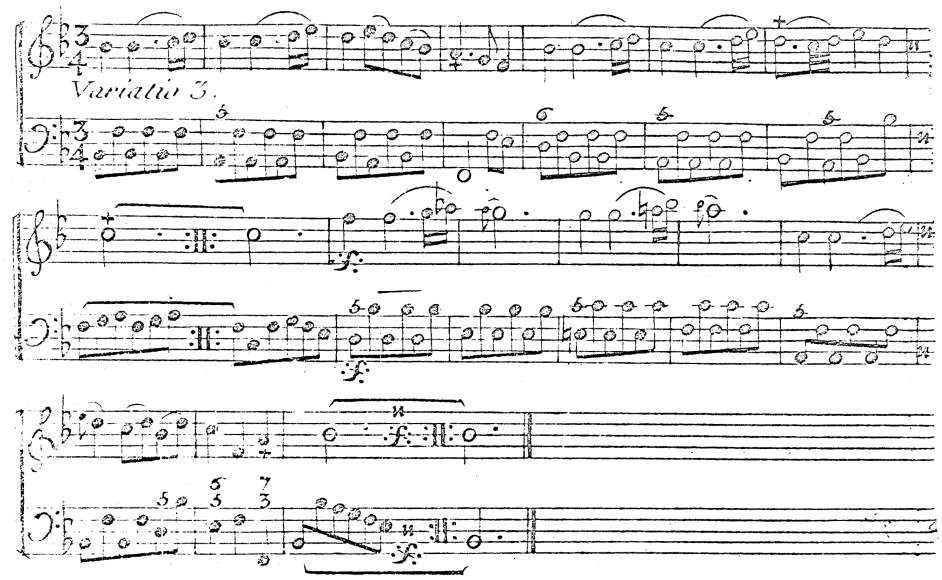


Example 4.55: Martin, Sonata IV, *Allegro,* showing use of the thumb position. Location: page 15, systems 2–3.

thumb position on the A-string. While this does not pose a problem for the first half, bars 10–13 would be in the extreme upper register, out of style with the rest of the sonatas in the set, and indeed all of the sonatas published in France in this period.[31] It is likely that, rather than indicating extreme upper range, Martin used the clef change to train the cellist in the reading of treble clef, which is useful for playing music for treble instruments such as the violin and the flute. Although the treble clef, notated an octave higher than sounding, did not become common in cello music until after 1760, it was used occasionally, as in Barrière's Sonata VI in Livre IV (See Examples 4.62, 4.63 and 4.64). Another possible, though more unlikely explanation, is that it in an *optional* thumb-position passage, a sign to more advanced cellists that they may play an octave higher if they so wish. As we shall learn later, there are other instances of optional *8va* passages, and various other notations for this.

Blainville, like Martin, also uses the thumb position twice, in clearly-marked notation. In Sonata II, there is a thumb-position passage in the first cello part, notated clearly in the soprano clef (Example 4.57). Like the

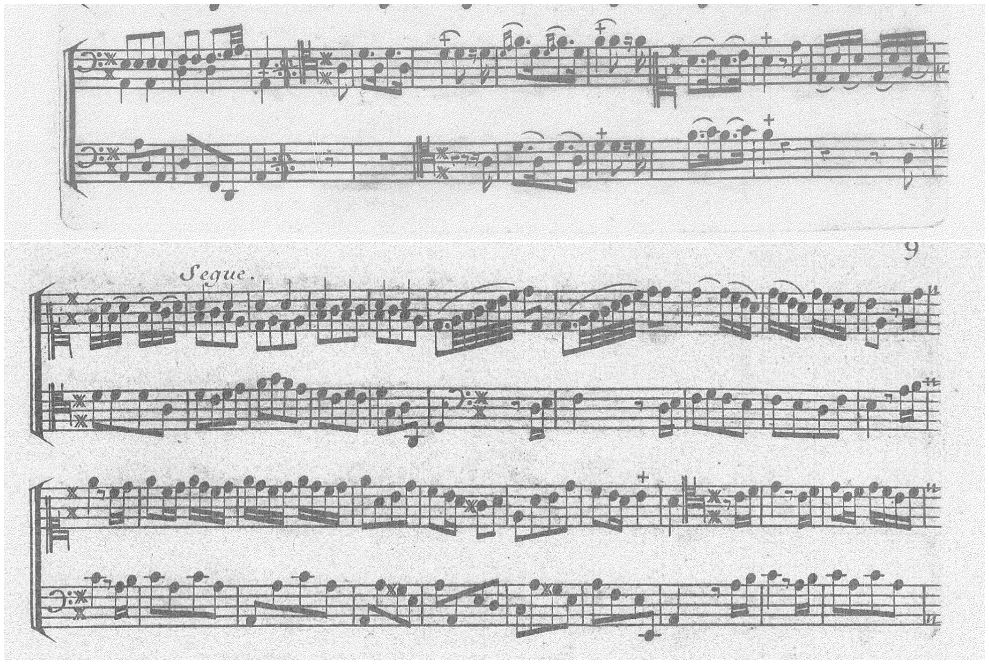
31. The only other sonata which uses such high range is Berteau's Sonata V, discussed below (see Example 4.72). However, this is a brief climactic passage, rather than a sustained tessitura.



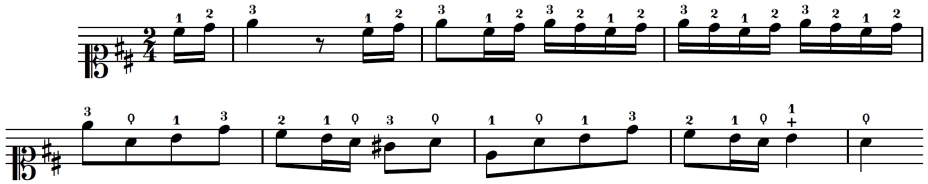
Example 4.56: Martin, Sonata V, *Minuetto, Variatio 3.* Location: page 25, systems 1–3.

examples in the Martin sonatas, this is anchored in the basic thumb position. However, it also rises to the *e*″ (third line of extract), requiring either the use of the fourth finger, or an 'extended' thumb position. In such a case, the playing fingers move one position ahead, but leaving the thumb in place as an anchor. Here, the thumb remains on the harmonic *a*′, but the rest of the fingers move one position higher, as shown in Example 4.58. From the thumb sign in bar 4 of the extract, the hand returns to the normal 'basic' thumb position. The technique, while optional here (it is also possible for the whole hand to move into the second thumb position, with the thumb on *e*′ and *b*′ for the passage), is required in Barrière's Livre IV (see below). The other instance of thumb position in the Blainville sonatas occurs in the final movement of Sonata IV (Example 4.59). In this case, the range only reaches *d*″, so there is no need for extensions or higher thumb positions. However, an unusual feature of this passage is that it is notated in the treble clef. This is more typical of late eighteenth-century cello sonatas than of those from this period.

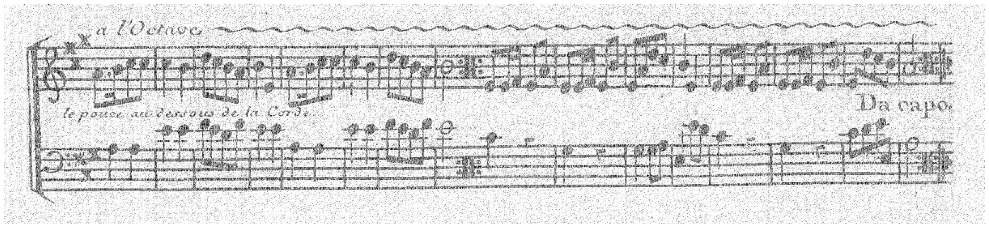
Like others, the notation of thumb position passages in Patouart's sonatas is inconsistent. There are four passages which use the basic thumb position. (There are also other passages which use or could use the lower thumb positions, discussed below.) Of these, three are notated in the soprano clef (Sonata III, *Allegro ma poco,* page 8, system 3; Sonata IV, *Presto,* page



Example 4.57: Blainville, Sonata II, *Rondo–Allegro.* Location: page 8, system 6, and page 9, systems 1–2.

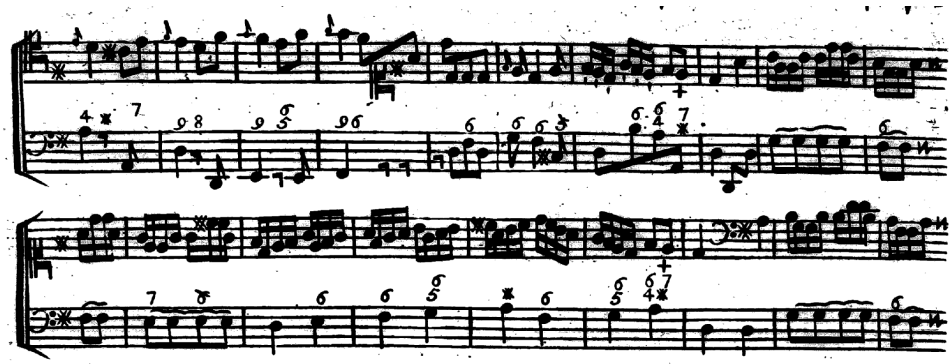


Example 4.58: Possible fingering for Blainville, Sonata II, *Rondo–Allegro,* bars 34–41.

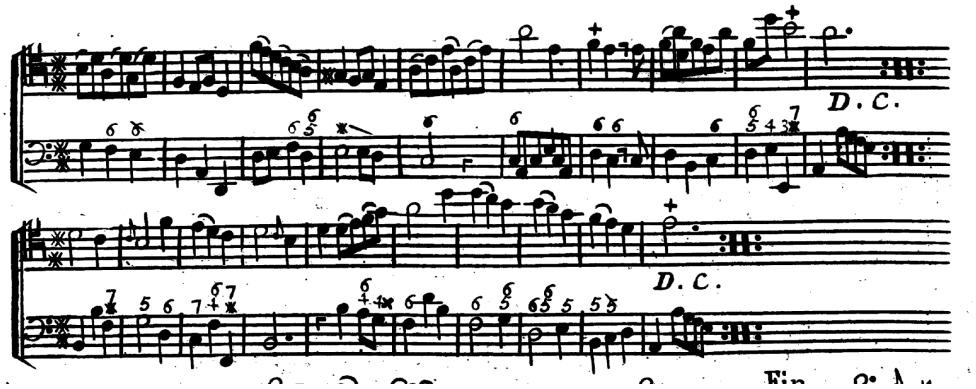


Example 4.59: Blainville, Sonata IV, *Rondeau–Allegro.* Location: page 17, system 6.

12, systems 2–3; Sonata V, *Andante*, page 15; system 7). As an example of Patouart's use of the thumb position, the example from Sonata IV is given here (Example 4.60). The other two, in Sonatas III and V, are simpler, slightly shorter, and use only the A-string. A fourth example of the thumb position occurs also in Sonata III; however, it is not indicated by a change in notation, and is written in the tenor clef (Example 4.61). There is no logical explanation for this discrepancy; rather it must be taken simply as part of the unstandardized notation of the era.



Example 4.60: Patouart, Sonata IV, *Presto.* Location: page 12, systems 2–3.



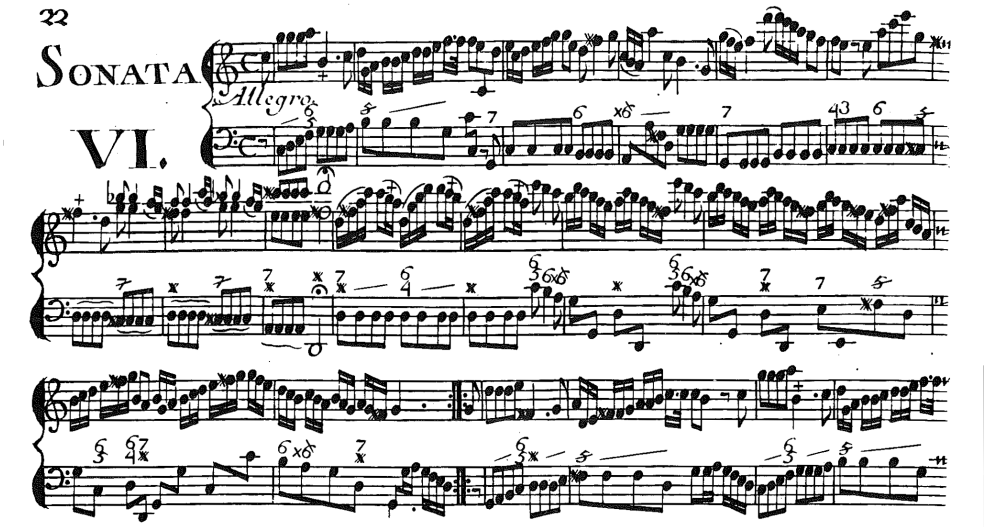
Example 4.61: Patouart, Sonata III, *Aria gratioso.* Location: page 9, systems 3–4.

Like Martin, Barrière uses the thumb position in only two of his sonatas: Sonata VI in Livre III, and Sonata VI in Livre IV.[32] In Livre III, all the thumb position passages are in the 'basic' thumb position.

In Livre IV, the use of the thumb positions corresponds to the later eighteenth-century technique. In all the other sonatas from this period

32. That is, the basic and upper thumb positions. There are several places in Livre I where a modern-day cellist would likely use the lower thumb positions to facilitate fingering, and it is possible that cellists in Barrière's day may have done so as well.

which use thumb position (including Barrière's use of thumb position in Livre III), there is a very clear-cut use of block thumb positions: the hand remains in one thumb position for an extended period. It is clear from the context that the passage is intended to be played in the thumb position. In this sonata, conversely, it is sometimes deliberately unclear (and left to the individual performer) as to where to change between the neck and the thumb positions.[33] In Example 4.62, the notes from the *d″* in bar 5 until the last quaver of bar 13 are clearly meant to be played in thumb position, as this is the only logical way to play them. However, the first four notes in bar 5 could potentially be played in thumb position on the D-string; furthermore, one may stay in thumb position right to the end of bar 13 and into bar 14, if one is prepared to play on the G string in thumb position (this is necessary in the final movement in any case), although one would most likely shift into the neck positions before the end of bar 15, so as to avoid playing the *F♯* on the C-string. (The notes after the repeat sign in this extract are played in the neck positions).

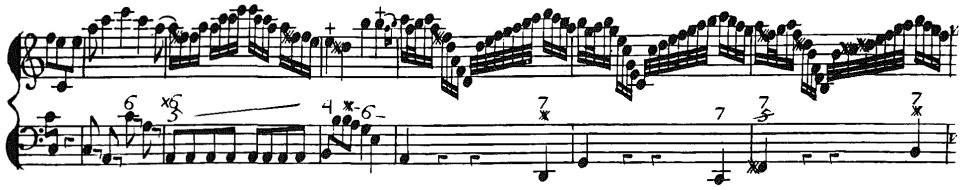


Example 4.62: Barrière, Livre IV, Sonata VI, *Allegro* (first movement). Location: page 22, systems 1–2.

Another passage in the same movement presents a similar dilemma (Example 4.63). Starting from the first complete bar of this extract (for the purposes of this discussion, bar one), it is clear that the notes should be played in the thumb position. One can even stay in the thumb position right through bars 4 and 5 of the extract, playing the lower notes on the G- and

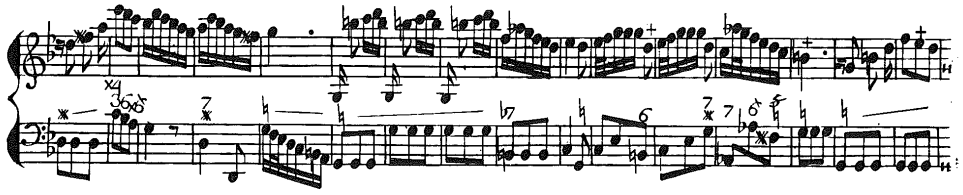
33. One has the option of staying in the thumb position and using the D-string, or shifting back on the A-string

C-strings. (The *a* in bar 4 of the extract on the G string, and the *f*♯ and *d* on the C-string; similarly in bar 5, the *g* can be played with the thumb, on the G-string, and the *e* and *c* on the C-string.) Indeed, this is the most secure way to play the passage, but the cellist still needs to shift into the neck positions to play the *B* in bar 6, since this is out of the range of the 'basic' thumb position.



Example 4.63: Barrière, Livre IV, Sonata VI, *Allegro* (first movement). Location: page 22, system 4.

It is possibly because of these ambiguities, where fingering details are left to the discretion of the performer, that Barrière does not use the soprano clef to mark clearly thumb position passages, as he does in Livre III Sonata VI, and as other composers did as well. Instead, as may be seen from the examples, the first two movements are notated in the treble clef, an octave above sounding pitch; this, also, is a notational convention more typical of the late eighteenth-century French cello school than of the mid century. The second movement, *Largo,* is also notated in the treble clef. Although there are several passages using the high *c*‴ and even *d*♭‴, these can be played without using the thumb position. There is only one passage which does explicitly need the thumb position (Example 4.64). Here, in addition to the high thumb-position notes, the open G-string is incorporated to give a contrast of register.

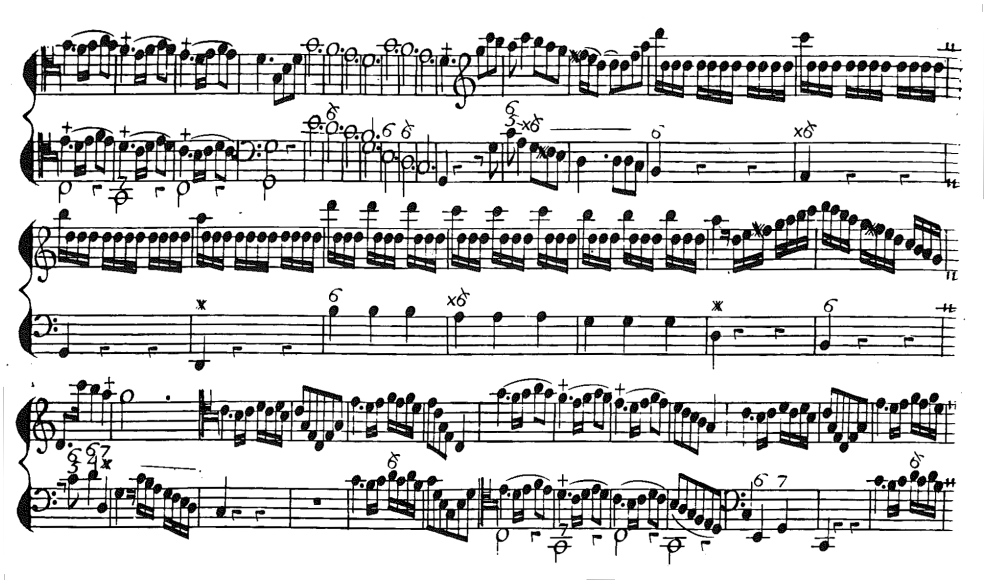


Example 4.64: Barrière, Livre IV, Sonata VI, *Largo.* Location: page 25, system 6 (second from bottom).

Surprisingly, a different notational convention is used in the third movement of the same sonata. This movement uses the treble clef to mark the use of the basic thumb position; passages to be played in the higher thumb positions are notated in the soprano clef, while the tenor and bass clefs are

used, as is usual, for those passages in the neck positions. This use of clefs seems to be particular to this one movement in this one sonata.

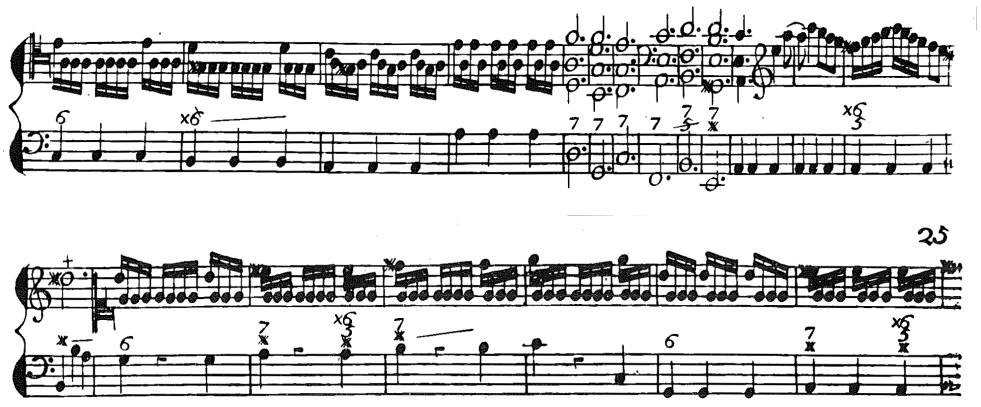
In this movement, there are only two passages in the 'basic' thumb position. The first (Example 4.65) makes extensive use of the harmonic *d'* on the D-string, in a passage involving *batterie* and making use of rapid repeated notes. Towards the end of the thumb passage, the player is required to play on the G- and then even C- strings in thumb position (final bar of line two of the extract third beat, and a C-string *d* in the first bar of line three of the extract). Even without the notation, the only logical way to finger the passage is to stay in thumb position throughout; jumping from the neck positions to the high *c''* at the start of line three of the extract does not make sense.



Example 4.65: Barrière, Livre IV, Sonata VI, *Allegro.* Location: page 24, systems 2–4.

The other passage in the 'basic' thumb position in this movement is more straightforward, only involving the top two strings (Example 4.66). It precedes a change to the higher thumb positions.

Unsurprisingly, the most prolific use of the 'basic' thumb position within the French sonatas of this era occurs in the Berteau sonatas. Berteau's use of the thumb position is so prevalent that in a sense the 'basic' thumb position becomes simply another position, with both higher and lower thumb positions being used freely. Where this is the case, they are not discussed here (e.g. Sonata I, *Vivace*). However, later in Sonata I, there is effective interplay between the first position, and the 'basic' thumb position, sounding the same notes one octave higher. Sonata II is interesting because in the final movement of this sonata, the set of variations, the theme, as well as variations



Example 4.66: Barrière, Livre IV, Sonata IV, *Allegro,* showing use of the basic thumb position (from the treble clef in line 1 of this extract, and ending at the change to the soprano clef in line two of the extract). Location: page 24, system 7 (last system) and page 25, system 1.

2, 4 and 5 are placed entirely in the 'basic' thumb position. Elsewhere, the 'basic' thumb position is integrated completely into the general technique, so that it no longer stands out clearly as in the examples from Barrière's Livre III and even Livre IV. If Berteau is known as the father of the French school, this is because in technique and in style, his sonatas foreshadow completely those of the late eighteenth century. His use of the 'basic' thumb position is a case of this.

The Higher Thumb Positions

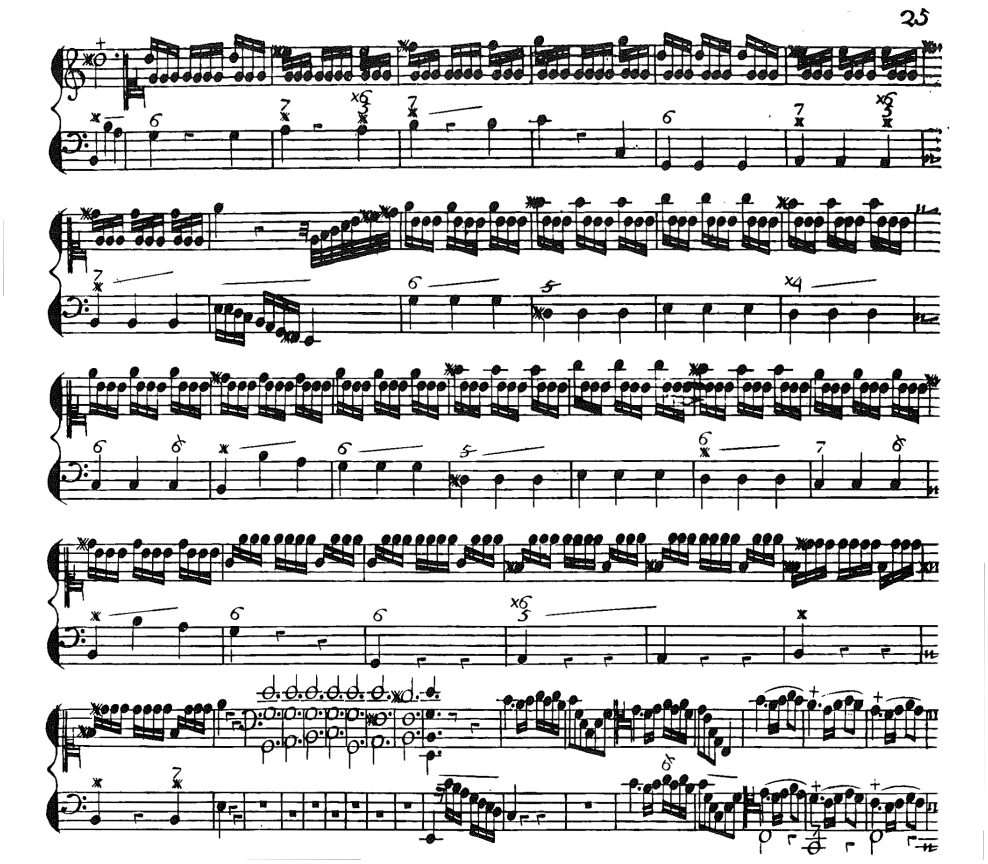
As discussed above, in the basic thumb position, the player places the thumb across the *a′* and *d′* harmonic on the A- and D-strings, which gives access to a range from *c* on the C-string, played with the thumb, to *e″* on the A-string, played with the fourth finger (see Example 4.53). To play notes higher than this *e″*, the player must place the thumb at higher points on the string, creating a similar range in a higher tessitura. While the use of these higher thumb positions is commonplace in the late eighteenth century, it is used only rarely in the French sonatas from the pre-Duport era. Indeed, in this early period, it is only Barrière and Berteau who use the higher thumb positions. (However, as seen above, there may be an *option* to use them in one variation in Martin's Sonata V.) Moreover, with the exception of a single two-bar example in Berteau's Sonata V (see Example 4.72), all the 'higher' thumb position examples in these early French sonatas only require the thumb to be placed a tone or semitone higher than in the 'basic' thumb position.

Barrière uses a higher thumb position only once. This occurs in the final movement, *Allegro,* of Sonata VI in Livre IV. After a short passage in the basic thumb position, notated in the treble clef (see Example 4.66), the change to the soprano clef is used to signal the change to a higher thumb position, with the thumb now on the *b′* and *e′* on the A- and D-strings respectively (Example 4.67). The player remains in this position until the change to the bass clef (in system 5 of the extract), after which the remainder of the movement is in the neck positions. Most of this passage is straightforward: the repeated *e*'s in the first line of the extract are played with the thumb, on the D-string, while the upper notes are played on the A-string. The second line beginning in bar 3, is more complicated, since it appears to go outside the range of this particular thumb position. Most likely the intended solution is that the player should 'reach out', playing the repeated *b*'s with the thumb on the A-string, and using either the first, second and third, or second, third and fourth fingers for the upper *e″, f♯″, and g″.* While this technique is uncommon in modern cello playing, it is not unheard of. Perhaps the best-known example is the opening of Haydn's D Major concerto (Hob. VIb:2), where the player must stretch out for the high *f♯″*s. This 'reaching out' continues until system 4 of the extract, at which the normal octave position is resumed, the *e*'s being played with the third finger on the A string, and the lower notes on the D-string.

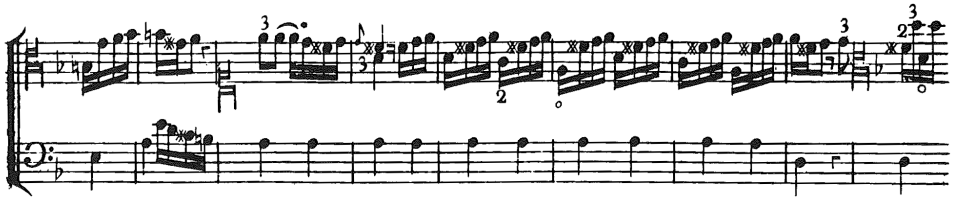
The only other French cellist to use the higher thumb positions before 1760 is Berteau. There are four passages in the Berteau sonatas where the higher thumb position is intended. In the second movement of Sonata I, following a passage in the lower thumb positions, the notation switches to the soprano clef (second full bar of the extract), indicating a shift to the thumb position with the thumb on *e′* and *b′* (the same higher thumb position as used in the Barrière example) (Example 4.68). The fingerings, included in the 1771 edition which is the one cited, indicate clearly that this is the intended fingering. Unlike in the Barrière example, there is no 'reaching out' required. At the end of this extract, the shift to the alto clef and the printed fingerings indicate a return to the 'basic' thumb position.

Another instance of the higher thumb position occurs in the final movement of this sonata (Example 4.69). In this case, there is no clef change to indicate the shift to the higher position, but the printed fingerings indicate both that the thumb should be placed on the *b′* (bar 4 of extract), and that the high *f♯′* should be played by 'reaching out' with the third finger.

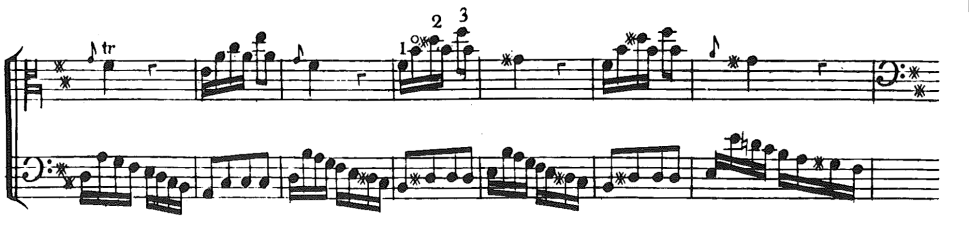
An example in Sonata III, the so-called 'Sammartini' sonata, is marked neither by clef-changes, nor by printed fingerings (Example 4.70). This is largely because there are several options for fingering this passage. Indeed, the higher thumb position is not strictly required at all; however, it is clearly the most logical way to play the passage at least for most of system two of



Example 4.67: Barrière, Livre IV, Sonata VI, *Allegro,* showing use of the higher thumb positions. Location: page 25, systems 1–5.

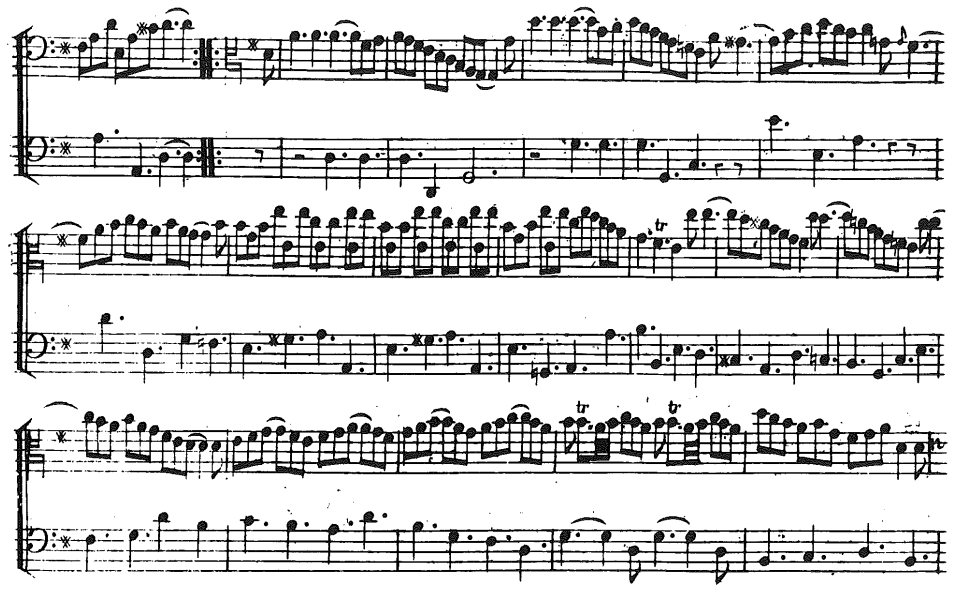


Example 4.68: Berteau, Sonata I, *Vivace,* showing the use of and notation for the higher thumb position. Location: 1771 edition, page 2, system 5 (second from bottom).



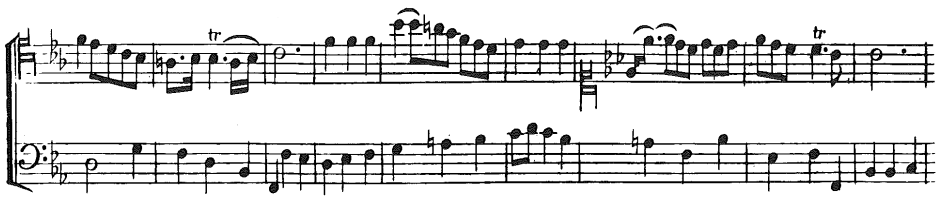
Example 4.69: Berteau, Sonata I, *Allegro assai,* showing use of the higher thumb position, marked with fingerings. Location: 1771 edition, page 4, system 5 (second from bottom).

the extract. (The surrounding music is provided for context.) Beginning at the double bar, the first phrase (to the low *g,* can be played either in the 'basic' thumb position, or in the neck positions. The following phrase (from the upbeat to bar 4 of the example) fits naturally under the hand in the 'basic' thumb position, although the performer may shift directly into the higher thumb position to play this passage, so as to avoid the need for a second shift elsewhere. Otherwise, the performer may shift at any time before the high *e″* in line two of the extract. After the final high *e″* in that line, one can then shift back to the 'basic' thumb position; this needs to be done to play the *d′* in bar 1 of system 3, so as to keep the passage on the top two strings.



Example 4.70: Berteau, Sonata III, *Allegro.* Location: 1771 edition, page 13, systems 2–4.

One final movement in the Berteau sonatas requires the use of the higher thumb positions: it is the final (third) movement in Sonata V. Here, there are two passages requiring the use of the higher thumb position. The first is straightforward. It is clearly marked by its notation in the soprano clef, and fits neatly under the hand with the thumb on the *b♭′* and *e♭′* (Example 4.71, bars 7–9 of example).



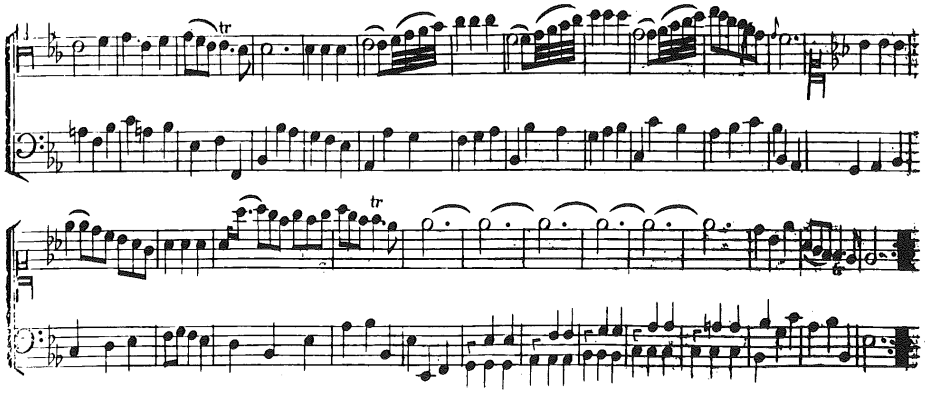
Example 4.71: Berteau, Sonata V, *Aria–Amoroso.* Location: page 21, system 2.

A second passage in the higher thumb position in this same movement is more noteworthy. Here, it is not only the 'second' thumb position, with the thumb on the *b′* and *e′* (or *b♭′* and *e♭′*) that is required, but in the middle of the phrase the cellist must shift to a much higher thumb position, with the thumb across the *e♭″* on the A-string, and the *a♭″* on the D-string, so as to reach the high *a♭″* (Example 4.72, beginning at the soprano clef).[34] The first three bars of this thumb position passage are best played in the E♭ thumb position, with the player then shifting to the A♭ thumb position for bars 3–4 of system 3 in the example. The remainder of the passage from the long E♭ onwards can then be played in the E♭ thumb position. This is the highest position used in any of the French repertoire published before 1760.

The Thumb Positions Below the Half-String Harmonic

Thumb position is usually seen as a technique for extending the upper range of the cello, or for playing in the instrument's highest range. However, the same technique can also be used in the lower half of the string, to facilitate passages that would otherwise be very difficult or impossible to play. There are several reasons why the thumb may be employed in the lower positions: it enables larger stretches; in double-stopped passages it can function as a movable 'nut', facilitating drone passages and allowing stopped strings to

34. Lewis, p. 18, claims that this *a♭″* is "much higher than any note found in the Barriere [sic] sonatas". However, it is in reality only a semitone higher than the *g″* found in Livre IV, Sonata VI (Example 4.67). The difference in technique is that the Barrière example uses an extension of the 'second' thumb position, with the thumb on *b′* and *e′*, while the Berteau example the thumb is on the *e♭″* and *a♭*, a major third higher. In that sense, the Berteau passage demands a much higher *position,* even if the actual *pitch* of the note is only a semitone higher.



Example 4.72: Berteau, Sonata V, *Aria–Amoroso.* Location: page 21, systems 5–6.

function as 'open' strings; and it allows a complete scale to be played in any part of the cello fingerboard without the need for shifting.

Because there are no fingerings given in any of the published French sonatas from this period, other than in the 1771 edition of the Berteau sonatas, it is difficult to be absolutely certain where the lower thumb positions are intended.[35] (Because of their high tessitura, passages in the high thumb positions are more immediately recognizable.) In this section, then, we will first focus on those passages where the lower thumb positions are necessary because to play the passage in any other way would either be impossible, or would involve difficulties out of keeping with the character of the sonata. Following that, discussion will turn to other passages which might conjecturally be played with the thumb.

The use of the thumb in the lower positions is customarily taught after the student has gained some facility with the higher thumb positions, and it is natural to assume that the technique developed in this way as well: that use of the thumb in the high positions preceded its use in the lower positions, where the stretches are bigger and therefore more difficult to play, and where an already efficient method of playing notes existed. However, Corrette discusses the use of the thumb in the lower positions, but neglects to mention that it can be used above the half-string harmonic. Similarly, there are some French sonatas which obviously require the lower thumb positions, but do not make use of the higher register. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that there were cellists who were capable of using the thumb in the lower positions, but did not attempt the high register.

35. The only information about fingering comes from Corrette's treatise (which, due to its focus on instruction for amateur beginners, must be used with reservation), and by deduction from internal musical evidence.

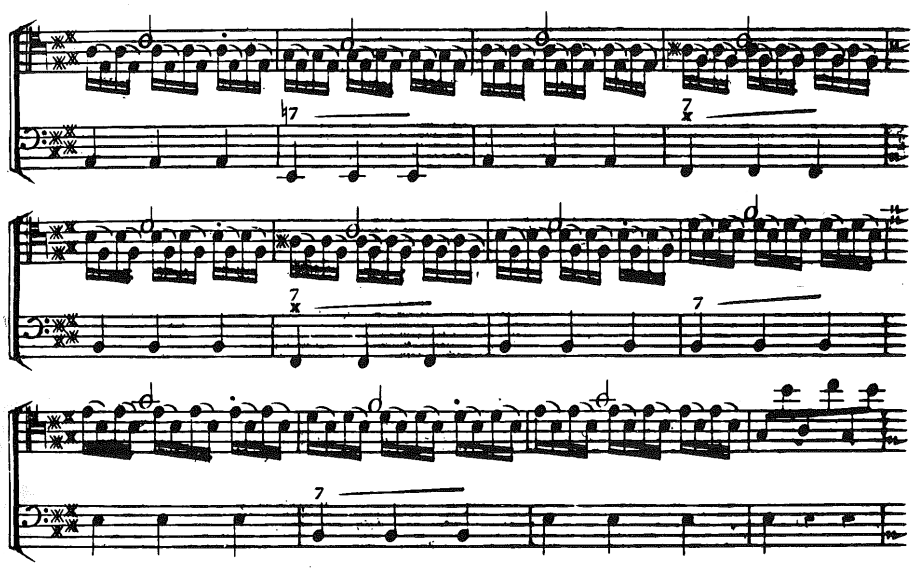
The fingerings in Berteau's sonatas (in the 1771 print) cannot be taken as a guide to practices in other sonatas of the period, since he quite clearly transcends the left-hand technique of his contemporaries, foreshadowing developments in the second half of the century. However, it is still noteworthy that the use of the lower thumb positions is clearly indicated in these fingerings.

As for the other sonatas of this period, one certainly finds therein some passages whose execution would be facilitated by the use of the lower thumb positions. More curiously, these occur even in sonatas which do not use the 'basic' thumb position, suggesting that the development and use of the lower thumb positions may in fact have preceded even the basic thumb position. [36] It is difficult to prove whether thumb position was used in these cases, however. Because the old diatonic fingering provides the same fingering possibilities as the thumb position, there are no passages which *require* the lower thumb position specifically. The only indication that a thumb position may be required is when there is a need to stop perfect fifths across the two strings, since this is significantly easier with the thumb than with the first finger.

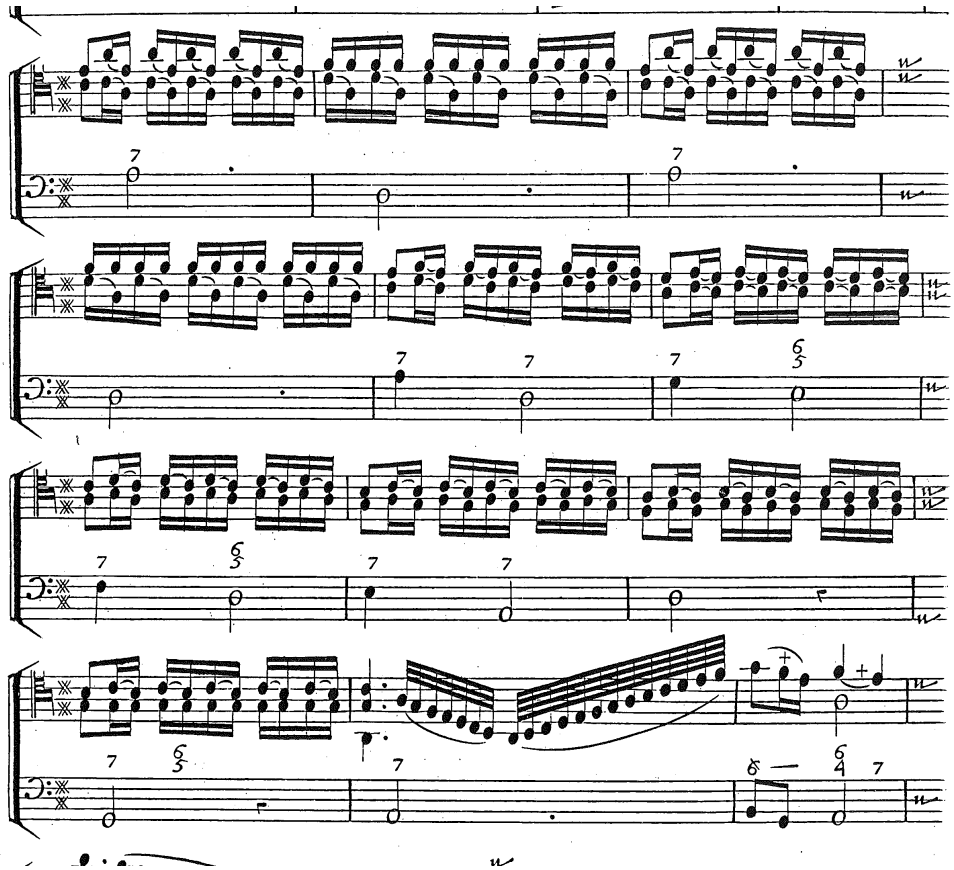
Such a case is in Sonata IV in Barrière's Livre II (4.73). Here, the double-stops, which include large stretches and fifths across the strings, are much easier to play if the thumb is used. A passage in Livre I is similar technically (Example 4.74). If the thumb is used, the first four bars of this extract can be played without shifting at all. Afterwards, only one shift is required per bar, as opposed to a shift between each note if the conventional (modern) fingering is used. In Sonata III of the same collection, there is a similar passage (making in total three such passages in the Barrière sonatas (confined, moreover, to Livres I and II) (Example 4.75). This example is in the lowest positions, where the stretches are largest, meaning that the diatonic fingerings recommended by Corrette for the third position and above cannot be used here (unless a very short string-length and a violin-style fingering pattern is used). Therefore, this is a further indication that the thumb position is the most likely method

36. Although little research has been done on this topic, received wisdom accepts that the 'basic' thumb position was the first used, with the lower thumb positions developing later. There are two reasons for this. First, the 'basic' and higher thumb positions actually help to expand the range of the instrument, whereas the lower thumb positions simply provide a new technique for playing in the existing range; there would have been less rational for developing this, than for adapting the thumb technique, initially devised for the upper register, to play also in the lower register. Secondly, cellists are customarily taught the 'basic' and even higher thumb positions before the lower, since the former are easier to master. However, eighteenth-century practice may well have been different: as discussed in Section 3.2, Corrette's *Méthode* introduces the thumb position with the thumb on the e' on the A-string and the a on the D-string (the equivalent of today's fourth and fifth positions); there is no specific mention of the 'octave' thumb position. Possibly this is due to the short fingerboards, ending around a' or b' , which were common at the time.

of playing this. It is not just these passages, however, that appear to demand the use of the thumb in these lower positions. There are also two other double-stopped passages that are significantly easier to play if the thumb is used, due to the large stretches required. In Sonata IV, a series of suspensions requires double-stopped seconds (Example 4.76). In this case, rather than it being the extreme low positions, it is in the 'higher' neck positions, above the fourth position. In these positions, it is difficult to use the fourth finger, due to the angle that the hand is placed on. Therefore, the cellist has the use of only three fingers (making the passage impossible), unless the thumb is brought into play. Of all the passages discussed in this section, this is the one that most needs the use of the thumb. The final passage discussed here is from Sonata VI of the same collection (Example 4.77). It consists of a long descending passage in parallel thirds, and is thus similar to the second part of Example 4.74. These thirds would require a shift between every note if the (modern) conventional fingering is used. On the other hand, if the thumb is included, one would need to shift only every half-bar. To an extent this could also be achieved by using the violin-style fingerings, but as discussed above, these can only be used in the first position (required in this extract) if an extremely short string-length is used.



Example 4.73: Barrière, Livre II, Sonata IV, *Allegro.* Location: page 13, systems 3–5.

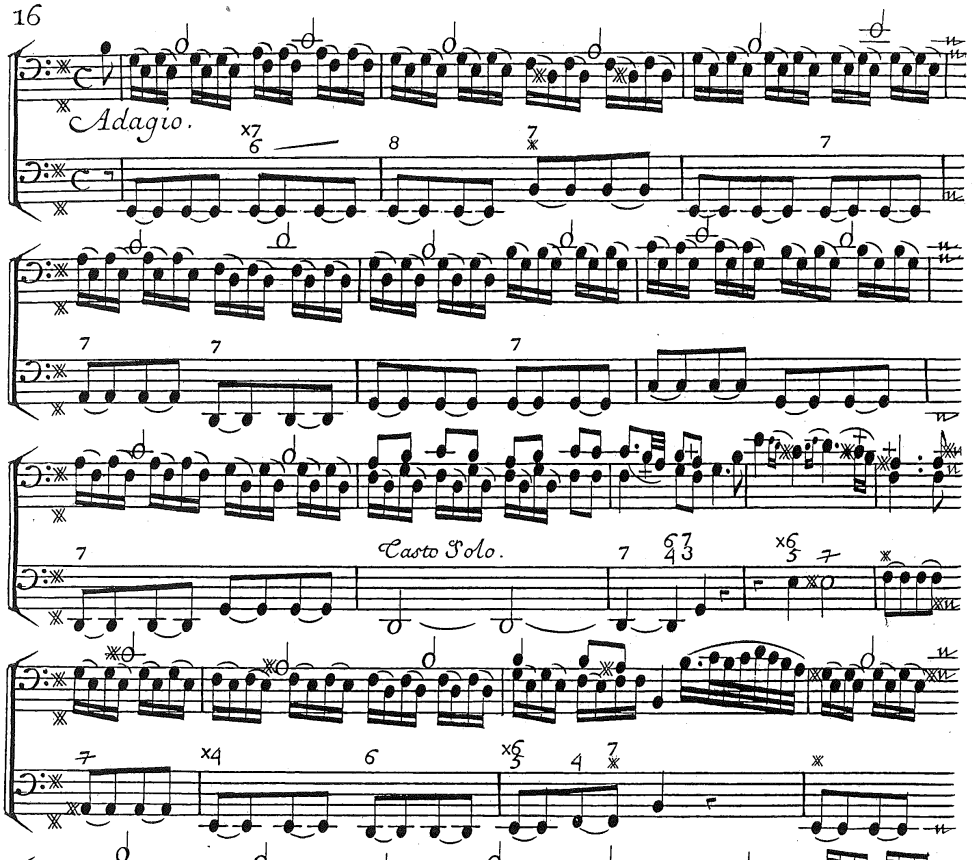


Example 4.74: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata I, *Andante.* Location: page 5, systems 2–5.

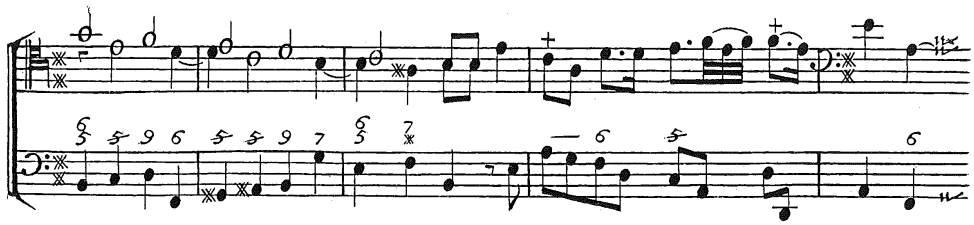
Natural Harmonics

Extending the range above that achieved by using the thumb positions, several French cellist-composers experimented with the use of natural harmonics. These also seem to be unique to the French repertoire; they are not found in any non-French sonatas published in Paris, nor does Cowling mention them in her study of Italian repertoire. While the late eighteenth-century French cello school has been singled out as embracing the use of harmonics, little attention has been paid to their use by the French cellists of the mid eighteenth century.[37] Like the thumb positions, natural harmonics are used in only a few sonatas, although there are more sonatas that use harmonics than use thumb position, most likely because the technique is easier to master, since it does not necessarily require fingering in the upper

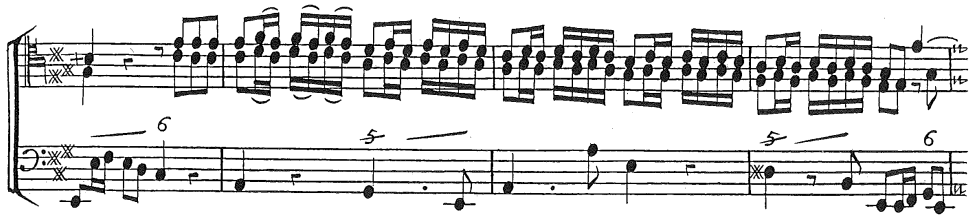
37. Mary Cyr and Valerie Walden, 'Duport' in *GMO*, note that "As with other French cellists of the era, his [J.-L. Duport's] compositions and reviews attest to an affinity for complex, well-organized bow strokes and use of natural harmonics" [accessed 22 Dec 2011]



Example 4.75: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata III, *Adagio.* Location: page 16, systems 1–4.



Example 4.76: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata IV, *Adagio.* Location: page 21, system 4.



Example 4.77: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata VI, *Largo.* Location: page 33, system 2.

half of the string, and even where it does, the placement of the left hand fingers does not need to be so precise.

Not surprisingly, it is the composers of more virtuosic sonatas, discussed already, who also included harmonics in their cello sonatas: Berteau, Martin, Blainville, Patouart, and Baur. Composers of less virtuosic sonatas, such as Boismortier, Corrette, Giraud and Spourny did not use harmonics. Interestingly, Barrière never uses harmonics in his sonatas either, although he uses other virtuosic techniques, such as thumb position and double stopping, profusely.

Harmonics at the Nut End of the String

Like most of those who included harmonics in their sonatas, Berteau felt the need to explain the playing of harmonics, as well as the notation for them. In a preface to the sonatas, he explains that the notes marked with *chevrons* are to be played by placing the fingers very lightly on the strings, in the same place as the printed note, and bowing with broad bow strokes, which will produce the harmonics (Figure 4.2)

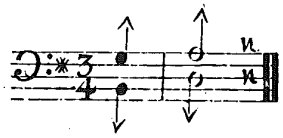
In the sonatas themselves, harmonics are used in two of Berteau's sonatas. In the third movement of Sonata II, variation 3 is entirely in natural harmonics, played at the nut end of the string (Example 4.78). Variation 6 is in double-stopped harmonics, combined with a few non-harmonic notes (Example 4.79).

In Sonata III, Berteau continues this use of double-stopped harmonics, in the refrain and in part of the first couplet of the final rondo movement (Example 4.80).

Patouart uses harmonics in the final movement of Sonata VI (Example 4.81), although his use of the technique is far less developed than that of Berteau: there are no double-stops, and indeed the harmonics are confined to the 1/4-string harmonic, at the nut end. (It is unclear whether the notated *B* in bar 2 of system 2 of the example is a printing error or not: it is playable

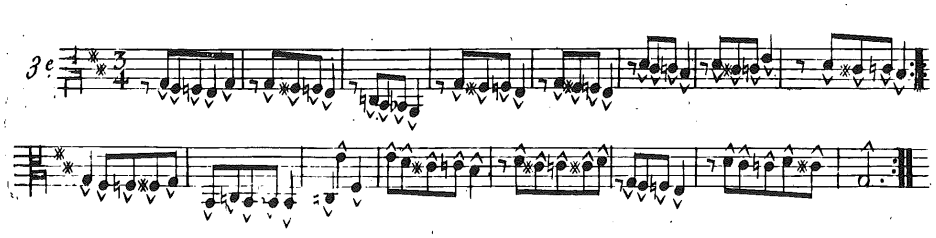
AVERTISSEMENT.

Lorsque l'on rencontrera des Chevrons brisés dessus et dessous les Nottes, par Exemple

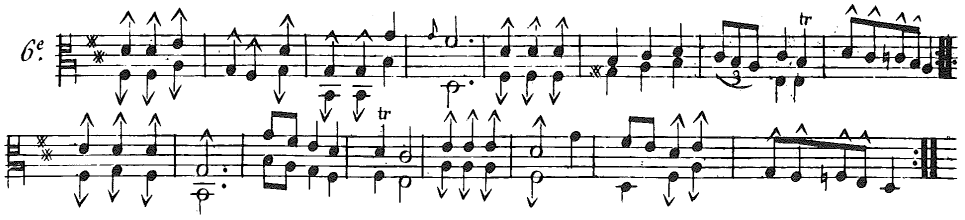


il faut placer les doits naturellement comme les nottes sont marquées, en les présentant très légerement sur les Cordes, et en tirant de grands coups d'Archet, ce qui forme les sons harmoniques.

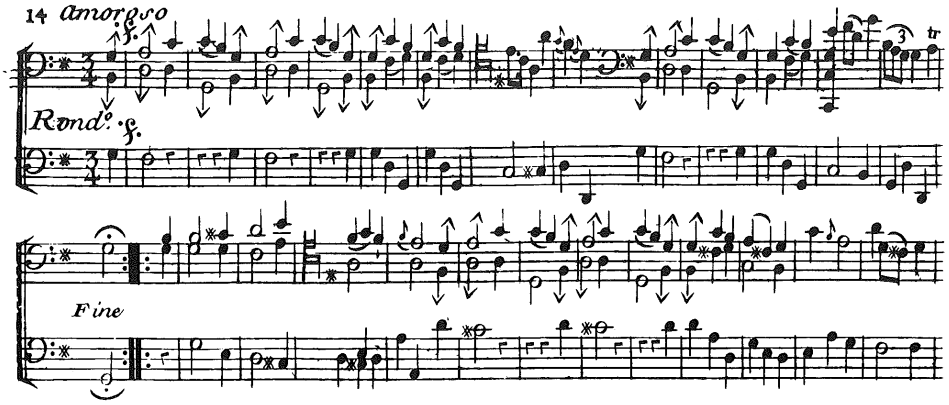
Figure 4.2: The introduction to the 1771 edition of Berteau's sonatas, describing the notation and technique for harmonics.



Example 4.78: Berteau, Sonata II, *Aria–variatione,* third variation, showing the use of natural harmonics. Location: 1771 edition, page 8, systems 7–8.



Example 4.79: Berteau, Sonata II, *Aria–variatione,* sixth variation, showing the use of natural harmonics in double stops. Location: 1771 edition, page 9, systems 9–10.



Example 4.80: Berteau, Sonata III, *Amoroso,* showing the use of double-stopped natural harmonics. Location: 1771 edition, page 14, systems 1–2.

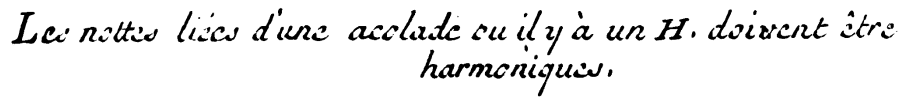
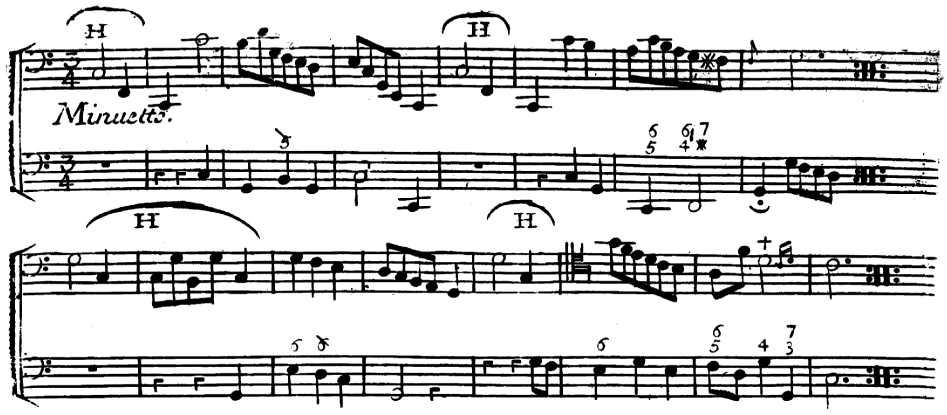


Figure 4.3: Patouart's explanation of the harmonics notation

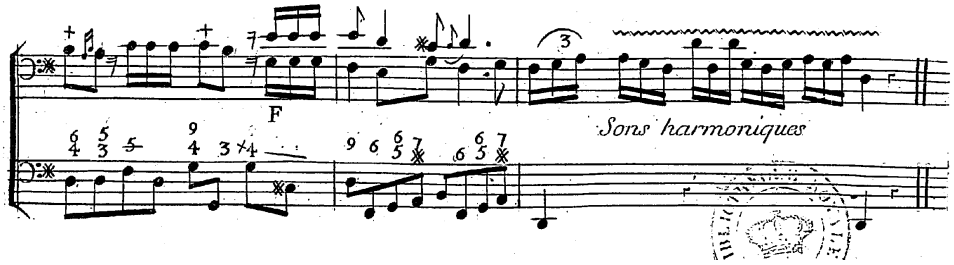
as the 1/5-string harmonic, which would give the note *b′*, which makes sense musically, although this harmonic is more difficult to sound than the 1/4-string harmonic, and is thus possibly out of character with the technique in the rest of the movement.) Patouart also uses a different notational convention from Berteau; this is explained at the bottom of the page where the harmonics appear, with the clarification that "The notes joined by a brace marked with an H should be played as harmonics" (Figure 4.3).

Like Patouart, Baur uses some harmonics in the final movement of the final sonata in his set (Example 4.82). There is no special notation used; simply a wavy line above the notes, and the instruction to play them as "sons



Example 4.81: Patouart, Sonata VI, *Minuetto,* showing the use of natural harmonics. Location: page 22, systems 1–2.

harmoniques". Again, these are played at the nut end of the string, using the 1/3, 1/4, and 1/5 harmonics on the A- and D-strings.

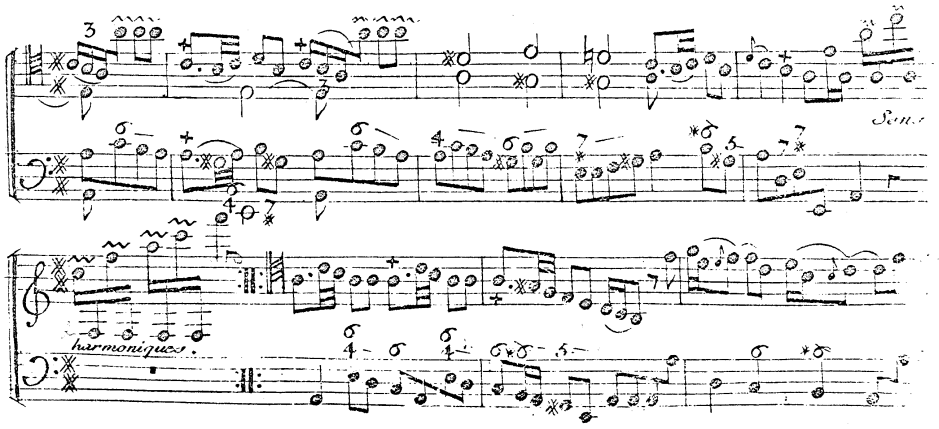


Example 4.82: Baur, Sonata VI, *Adagio.* Location: page 24, system 6 (last system).

Bridge-End Harmonics

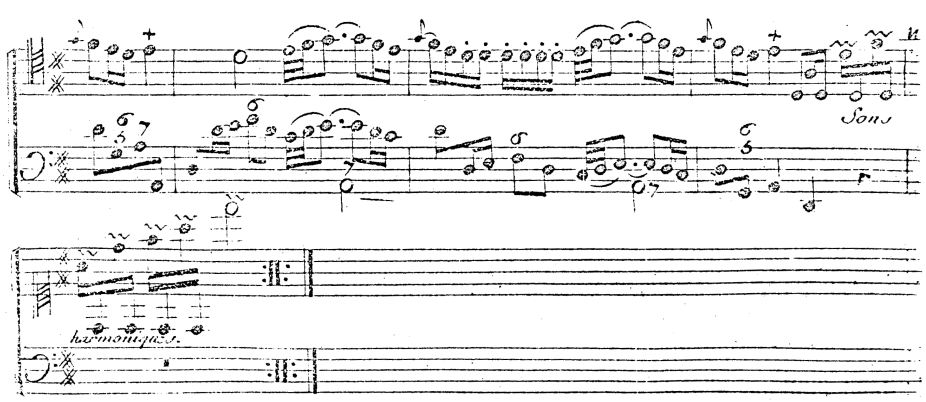
Only two French cellist-composers in this period use the more difficult harmonics at the bridge end of the string: Blainville and Martin. In both cases, the harmonic notes alternate with the open string on which they are played, creating a *faux-brisure* effect. Like this *faux-brisure* effect, the use of *faux-brisure* with harmonics can be traced back to the early French sonatas, although it is more usually associated with the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both the Martin examples and the Blainville example discussed here are evidence of the use of this technique in France in the mid-eighteenth century.

The two Martin examples are drawn from the same movement, one occurring at the half-close (Example 4.83), and the other, a fifth lower, and played on the D-string instead of the A-string, at the end of the movement (Example 4.84). In both cases, Martin uses a clef-change for the harmonics passages; curiously, the A-string passage is notated in the French G clef (the only use of this clef in the French cello repertoire published before 1760), and the D-string passage is notated in the soprano clef. Because the relationship between the two clefs is exactly a fifth apart, the visual appearance of these two passages, other than the clefs themselves, is identical. Martin, like Baur, explicitly writes "Sons harmoniques", and places a wavy line above each harmonic note, thus distinguishing them from the open-string notes. In both cases, there is a note marked to be played as a harmonic, which physically cannot be played as one: the *c♯″* in the first example (system 1, penultimate note, in extract), and the *f♯′* in the second example (system 1, penultimate note, in extract). This note must be played as a stopped note.

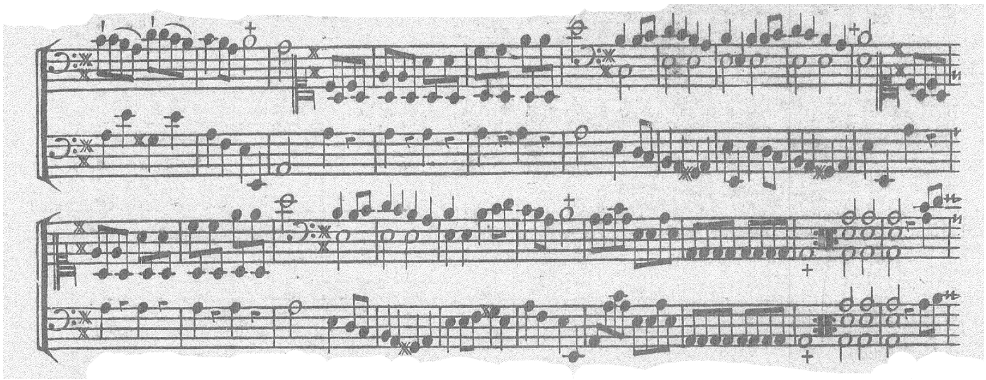


Example 4.83: Martin, Sonata IV, *Allegro.* Location: page 14, systems 5–6 (lowermost two systems).

The Blainville example is almost identical to those found in the Martin sonata discussed above (Example 4.85, the passage in the soprano clef). In this case, however, there is no direct indication that the notes are to be played as harmonics. However, the fact that all the notes from the *a′* above (with the exception of the *c♯′*, as discussed above) can be played as harmonics, and are well above the general tessitura of the sonata, indicates that this was the expected technique. As in the Martin examples above, Blainville makes use of the *faux-brisure* technique, alternating the harmonic notes with the A-string.



Example 4.84: Martin, Sonata IV, *Allegro.* Location: page 15, systems 5–6 (lowermost two systems).



Example 4.85: Blainville, Sonata VI, [no tempo indication]. Location: page 22, systems 2–3.

4.5 Clefs

A wide variety of clefs is used in the notation of these sonatas. In part this is because of the wide compass of the cello, which at its most extreme, covers nearly five octaves, even in this early period.[38] However, it is also because the notation was not standardized at this point, as it would be in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[39] Moreover, as has been alluded to

38. The highest note found in the early French cello sonatas is the harmonic *a‴* in the first movement of Martin's Sonata IV (see Example 4.84). The highest stopped (non-harmonic) note, on the other hand, is the *a♭″* in the third movement of Berteau's Sonata V (see Example 4.72). If harmonics are excluded, the range of the cello in this period is just over three-and-a-half octaves. Most sonatas, however, have a range of under three octaves.

39. The standard French notation in the late eighteenth century, which came into vogue in the 1760s, was to notate everything in the treble clef, an octave higher than sounding.

above, changes of clefs were sometimes used to indicate position changes, although this was not standardized and different conventions may apply to different sets of sonatas.

Tenor and Bass Clefs

The tenor and bass clefs are the most commonly found clefs in the early French repertoire. In general the tenor clef is more common than the bass, which is natural considering that the tessitura of most sonatas lies on the top two strings. Changes between these two clefs are made freely. There are very few sonatas that use only the bass clef, avoiding the tenor; those that do are Sonata I in Boismortier's Op. 26, Dupuits's Sonata I, and the whole of Spourny's Op. 9, other than the final minuet (which uses the tenor clef for two lines). The rest of this section discusses the use of high clefs. Where clefs other than the tenor and bass are used, this is normally to indicate the use of thumb position. However, there was no consistent method established at this time. Each cellist, composer or engraver seems to have come up with their own solution, and even then this can change between books, or even between sonatas or even movements.

Alto Clef

Corette claims that it is the alto clef "dont les François se servent beaucoup", whereas "tous les Italiens" use the tenor clef.[40] In reality, the alto clef is used only sporadically in the published French cello repertoire from this period. It is likely that Corrette made his inference based on the French solo viol repertoire, which uses the alto clef, as well as the mezzo-soprano and soprano clefs, for the high register. It is also possible (though less likely) that he is referring to examples of French cello music which were never published (since most published sources have survived). Whatever the case may be, the fact remains that the only surviving sonatas from this period to use the alto clef are those by Berteau and Baur.

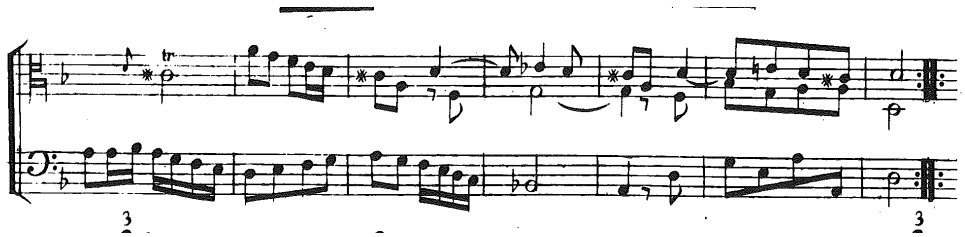
Generally speaking, Berteau uses the alto clef to indicate the use of the 'basic' thumb position; the soprano clef, used by other composers to indicate this 'basic' thumb position, is instead used to demarcate the higher thumb positions.

This use of the alto clef by Berteau is intriguing. There are several possible reasons why he chose to use this clef. He may have been using it to show

Very high passages were marked '8va' (i.e. to be played at pitch), and notes on the C-string were sometimes notated in the bass clef. This notational practice allowed cello music to be marketed for the violin, and vice versa. The modern notational convention of using the bass, tenor and treble clefs (the last at pitch) developed in the early nineteenth century.

40. Corrette, *Méthode,* p. 1.

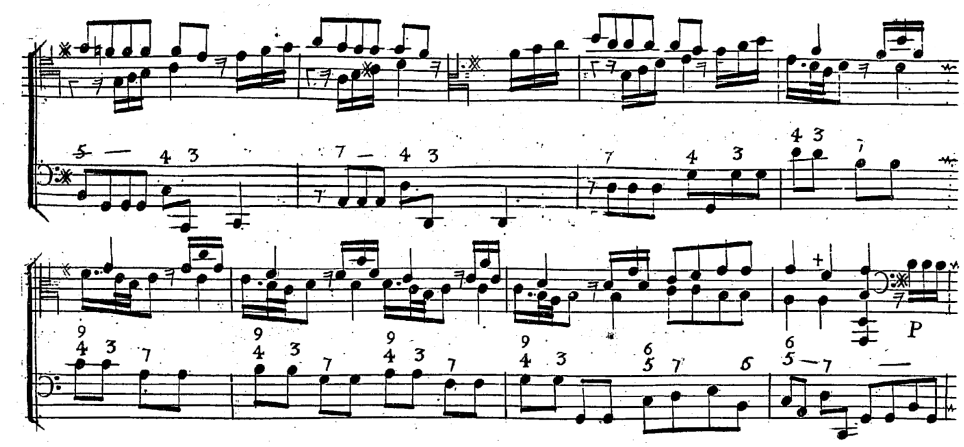
his allegiance to the French style, even if (or perhaps because) his sonatas themselves are not French in style at all. A more mundane explanation is that he did begin as a viol player and was simply accustomed to the clef. It is equally possible that he simply wanted to distinguish between passages played in the neck positions (notated in the tenor clef), those in the 'basic' thumb position (notated in the alto clef) and those in the higher thumb positions (notated in the soprano clef). The problem with this theory is that while it is generally applicable, there are times when the alto clef is used in spite of the fact that the thumb position is not suitable for those passages. Sonata I will be used as an illustration. The first movement uses only the tenor and bass clefs. In the second movement, which uses three clefs, the distinction is clear: the alto clef is used for 'basic' thumb position, while the tenor and bass clefs are used for the neck positions, as well as passages in the lower thumb position. However, in the third movement *(Grave),* which begins in the tenor clef, there is an inexplicable change to the alto clef after the first four bars. There is no reason to use thumb position here, however, and in fact it is not possible in the final five bars, because of the double stops (Example 4.86). In the fourth movement, in contrast, the distinction is clear, with the alto clef being used for all thumb position passages (including the higher thumb position; see Example 4.69), and the tenor and bass clefs being used for all passages in the neck positions.



Example 4.86: Berteau, Sonata I, *Grave,* Location: page 4, system 3.

So, it can be seen that Berteau employs the alto clef for two distinct purposes: in Sonata II, and in the first and third movements of Sonata IV, it is used as a 'general' clef (in other words as a substitute for the tenor clef). (In the other movements of Sonata IV, and in Sonata V and in the trio, it is not used at all.) It is only in Sonata III that it is used to indicate a shift *into* the basic thumb position, though not out of it. In Sonata I, in the second and fourth movements, the alto clef is used clearly to denote thumb position, while the tenor and bass clefs are reserved for the neck positions. The first movement uses only tenor and bass clefs. It is only the third movement of this sonata which has an inexplicable change into the alto clef after the tenor.

Baur uses the alto clef only once, in the final movement of Sonata VI (Example 4.87)(the rest of the set is notated in the tenor and bass clefs). In this case, as in the Berteau collection, it marks the shift into the first thumb position. However, similarly to Berteau, Baur does not shift out of clef to mark the end of the thumb position; rather, he remains in the alto clef until the end of the phrase, in spite of the fact that the final one-and-a-half bars of the phrase can be, and would normally be, played in the neck positions. This contrasts with practices in the use of the soprano clef, since that clef is normally used exclusively for the thumb position, and the notation shifts out of the clef to indicate that the performer should shift out of the thumb position.



Example 4.87: Baur, Sonata VI, *Adagio.* Location: page 24, systems 4–5.

Soprano Clef

The soprano clef is used more often than the alto clef in the French sonatas from this period. Fortunately, its purpose is also clearer than for the alto clef, discussed above. The soprano clef appears is used in the sonatas of Martin (Sonata III), Blainville (Sonata II), Patouart (Sonatas III, IV and V), and Barrière (Livre III, Sonata VI) to indicate the use of the 'basic' thumb position. Both of the composers who used the higher thumb positions, Barrière and Berteau, used the soprano clef to notate this position as well.

In addition, the soprano clef is used by the two composers who wrote harmonics at the bridge end of the string, Martin and Blainville, for the notation of these harmonics. However, neither of them notates all harmonics passages in this clef: Martin uses it only for harmonics on the D-string, using the French G clef for harmonics on the A-string, while Blainville uses it only for the A-string, notating harmonics on the D-string in the tenor clef. This

inconsistency between composers, sets, and even movements within sonatas is typical of this period, when the cello's technique and idiom, and a suitable method of using clefs to notate this, were very much in the developmental phase.

Treble Clef

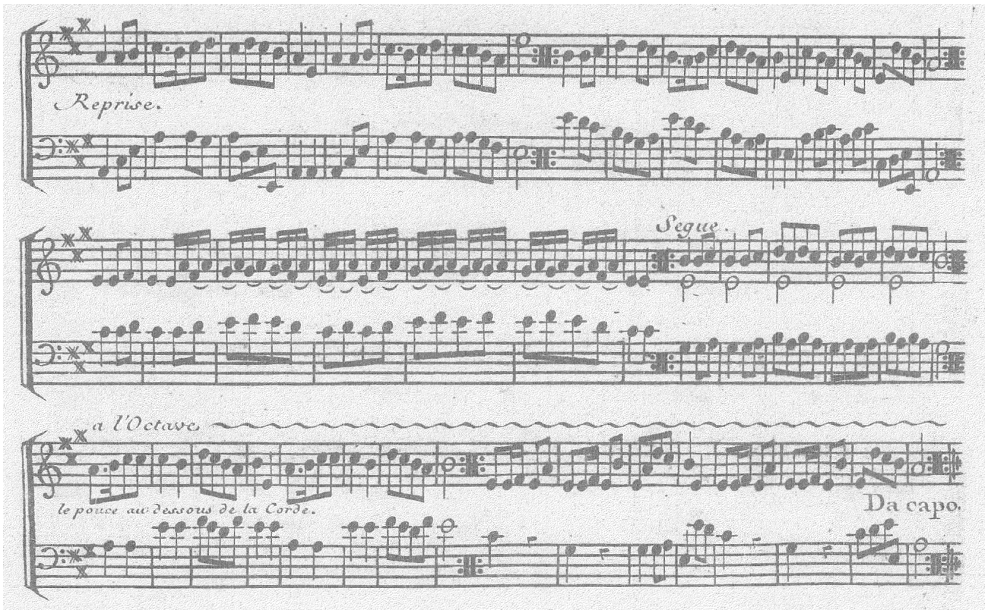
The treble clef, notated an octave higher than sounding, was the standard method of notating cello music in France in the second half of the century. However, it appears but only in three sonatas published in Paris before 1760. As has been discussed above, Barrière notates the first two movements of Livre IV, Sonata VI in the treble clef, sounding an octave lower than written (see Examples 4.62, 4.63 and 4.64). In the third movement of the same sonata, the treble clef (still sounding an octave lower than written) is used for the 'basic' thumb position, while the soprano clef is reserved for the higher thumb positions, and the tenor and bass clefs for the neck positions.

The Martin example discussed above is almost certainly intended to be played one octave lower, although the switch to this clef for one variation remains puzzling (Example 4.56). A final example comes from Blainville, Sonata IV, where a section marked *reprise* at the conclusion of the final rondo movement is notated in the treble clef (Example 4.88). Again, the switch of clef at this point is puzzling, considering that most of the passage can be played in the first position. The final line of the movement is marked *a l'Octave,* i.e. at the notated pitch, and is clearly indicated to be in thumb position, with the annotation *le pouce au dessous de la Corde.*

In addition to this use of the treble clef, Martin uses the French G clef once, for the harmonics in in the opening movement of Sonata IV (see Example 4.83). When the harmonics passage appears at the close of the movement, a fifth lower, they are then notated in the soprano clef (see Example 4.84).

4.6 Double Stopping

Perhaps the area where the French sonatas are most clearly differentiated from the foreign cello sonatas published in Paris at this time is in the use and profusion of double stopping. Double-stops are used only sparingly, and usually limited to one or two chords at cadence points, in the Italian sonatas published in Paris, and in Italian cello sonatas from the first half of the eighteenth century in general. In contrast, many of the French cello sonatas from this period are rich in double stopping throughout the course of individual movements. This is a trait that they share with both the antecedent solo viol school, and the contemporary French violin school. Yet in terms of cello literature, they are unique: no other body of music for the cello,



Example 4.88: Blainville, Sonata IV, *Rondeau–Allegro.* Location: page 17, systems 3–6.

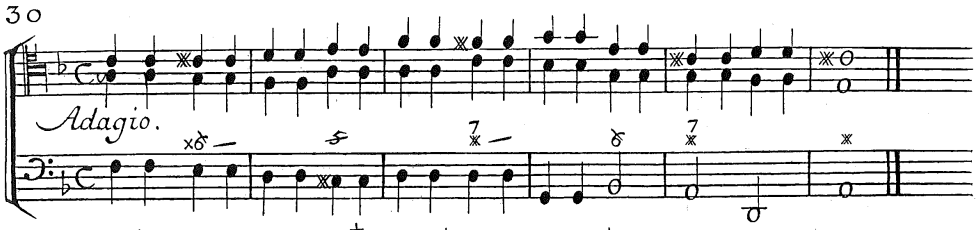
from any other region or epoch, uses double stopping to the same degree as the French sonatas written before 1760. Therefore, double stopping may be considered a defining feature of the early French cello school. Moreover, double stopping is not confined to the virtuosic sonata. Even simple sonatas conceived for the amateur market make use of the technique, although there are fewer double stops in the simple sonatas than in the advanced ones, and the double stops are certainly easier to play, as open strings are used more frequently.

Movements Composed Entirely in Double Stops

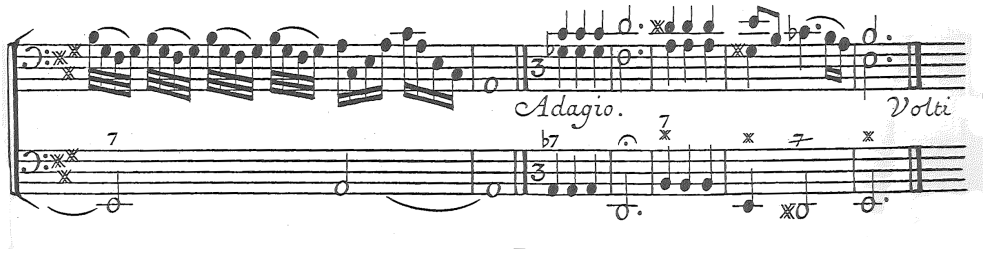
The most involved form of double stopping is when entire movements are double-stopped continuously. (This implies that the *texture* is one of constant double stopping, even though in almost all of these movements there are a few notes, perhaps in the form of an ornament or a run, which are not double-stops). This is a clear contrast from the largely single-stopped Italian sonatas found in the catalogues of the French music-publishers of this time.

Two bridging movements from sonatas in Barrière's Livre I show the solo cello using double stops continuously, creating a three-part texture with the bass. (Examples 4.89 and 4.90). The continuous three-part texture is reminiscent of the Corellian trio-sonata texture. Both of these instances in Barrière are small-scale examples. In general, this type of double stopping is not found in longer movements by Barrière, presumably because of the

lack of melodic interest. The interest is purely harmonic, generated by the chain of seventh chords. This type of double-stopped movement is rare in the French repertoire, appearing only in these two examples from Barrière's *Livre I.*



Example 4.89: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata V, *Adagio.* Location: page 30, first system.

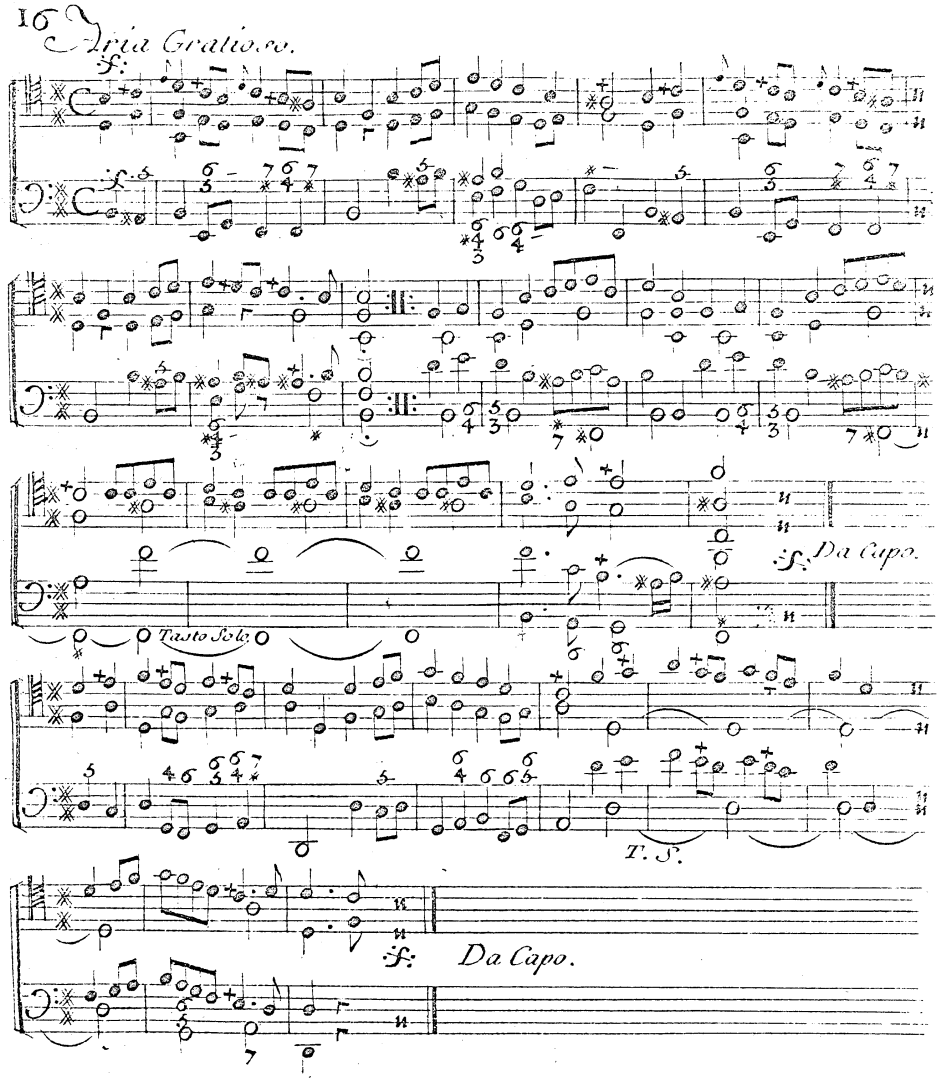


Example 4.90: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata VI, *Adagio* (beginning in third bar of extract). Location: page 35, final system.

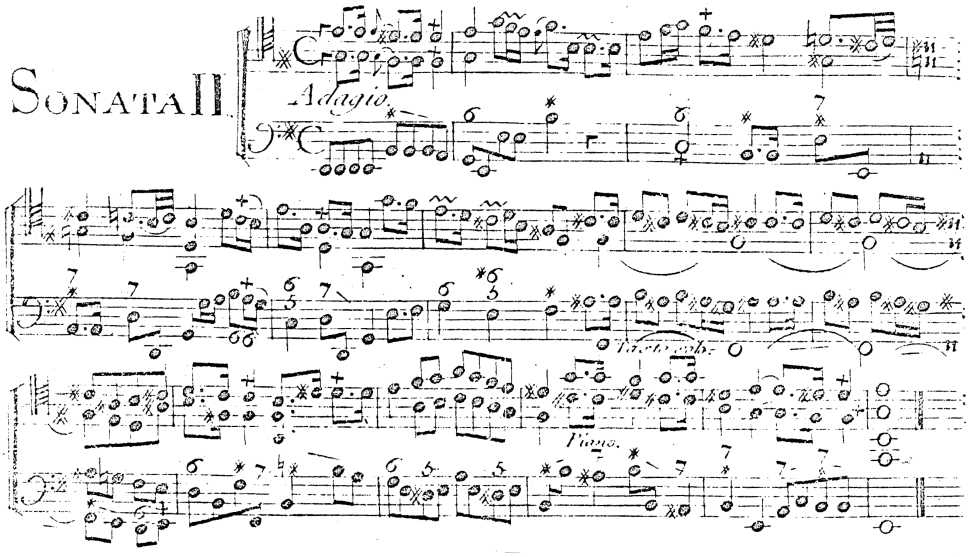
Martin, on the other hand, uses continuous double stopping in longer movements, and in a more imaginative manner. The most noteworthy example is the *Aria gratioso* in Sonata IV (Example 4.91). Here, the double stopping is of a much more artistic and varied nature, radically different from the Barrière examples above. In two other examples, the texture is looser. The first movement of Sonata II is almost completely in double-stops, other than two phrases where the texture is thinned to only a single line in the solo and a single continuo line (Example 4.92). The double-stops in both these examples are more complex, both stylistically and technically, than the Barrière examples above.[41] In two movements of the duo (Sonata III), there is continuous double stopping, although it is shared between the two cellos (only one is double stopping at any given moment) so that a three-part texture prevails throughout (See Examples 4.93 and 4.94).

Passages of similar intensity in double stopping can also be found in other Martin sonatas, although, unlike the examples discussed above, they do

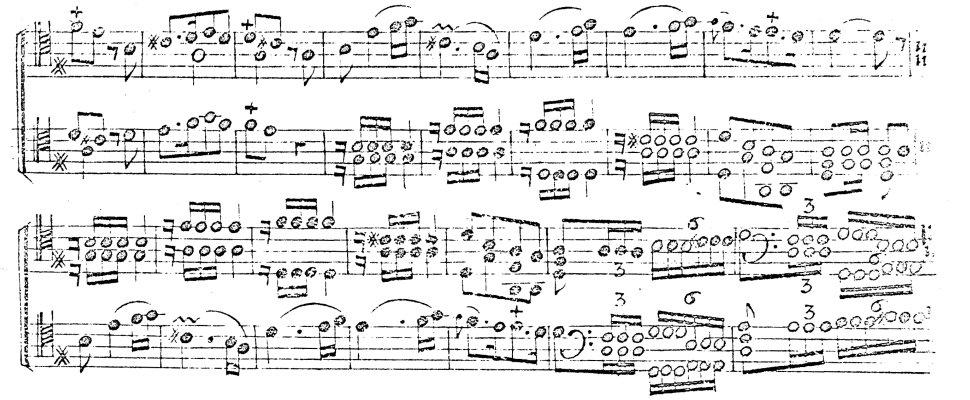
41. It should be noted, however, that Barrière's use of double stopping is certainly not always simple; more complex double stopping (that does not occur in completely double-stopped movements) is discussed below.



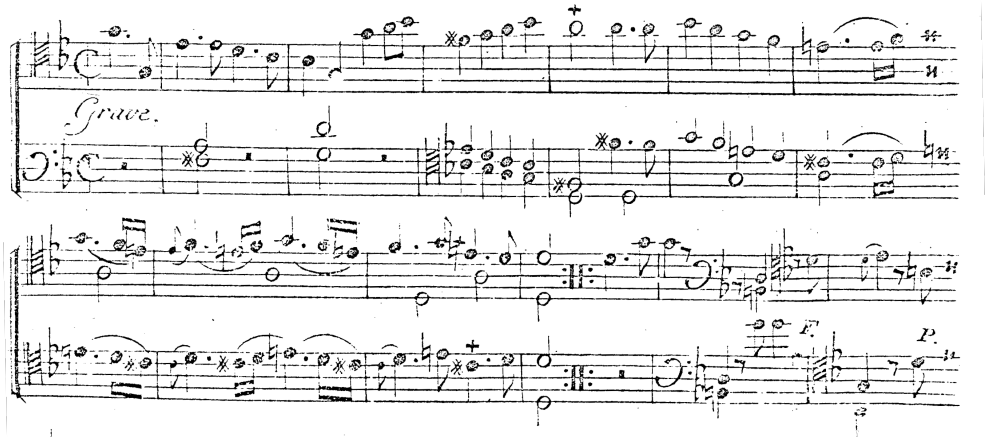
Example 4.91: Martin, Sonata IV, *Aria gratioso,* showing extended double stopping over the course of an entire movement. Location: p.16, entire page.



Example 4.92: Martin, Sonata II, first movement *Adagio.* Location: page 4, systems 1–3.

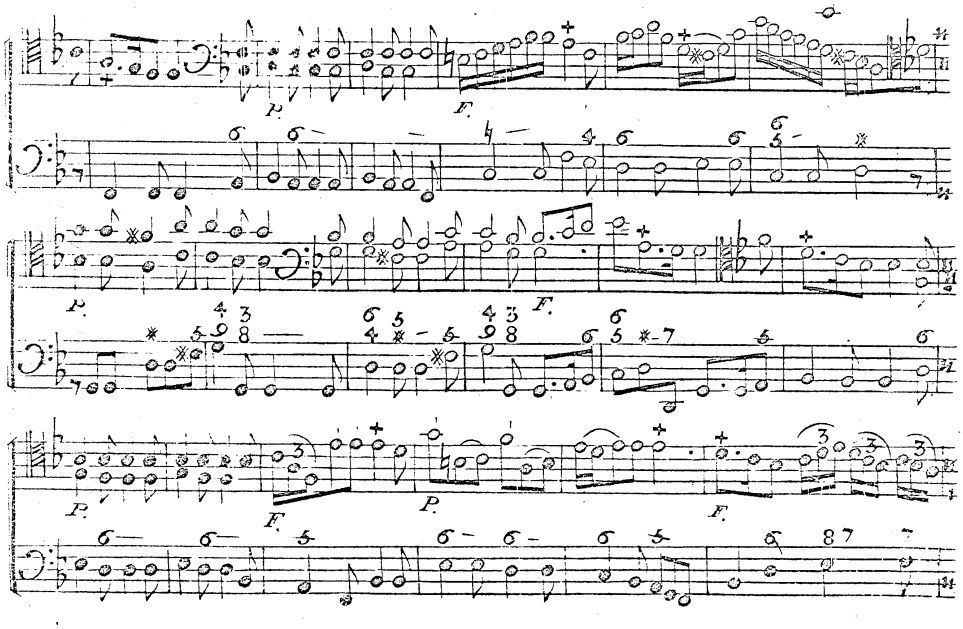


Example 4.93: Martin, Sonata III, *Allegro,* excerpt showing continual double stopping by at least one cello. Location: page 10, systems 3–4.



Example 4.94: Martin, Sonata III, *Grave,* showing the use of double stopping in this slow movement. Location: page 11, systems 4–5.

not pervade an entire movement. One such example is in the first movement of Sonata V. Example 4.95 illustrates the type of frequently recurring double stops that are common in the Martin sonatas: they do not take up the whole movement, as in previous examples, yet they are a feature of the movement far more than in any non-French sonatas from this period.



Example 4.95: Martin, Sonata V, *Andante,* an excerpt showing the use of double-stops in a movement that is not entirely double-stopped. Location: page 21, systems 3–5.

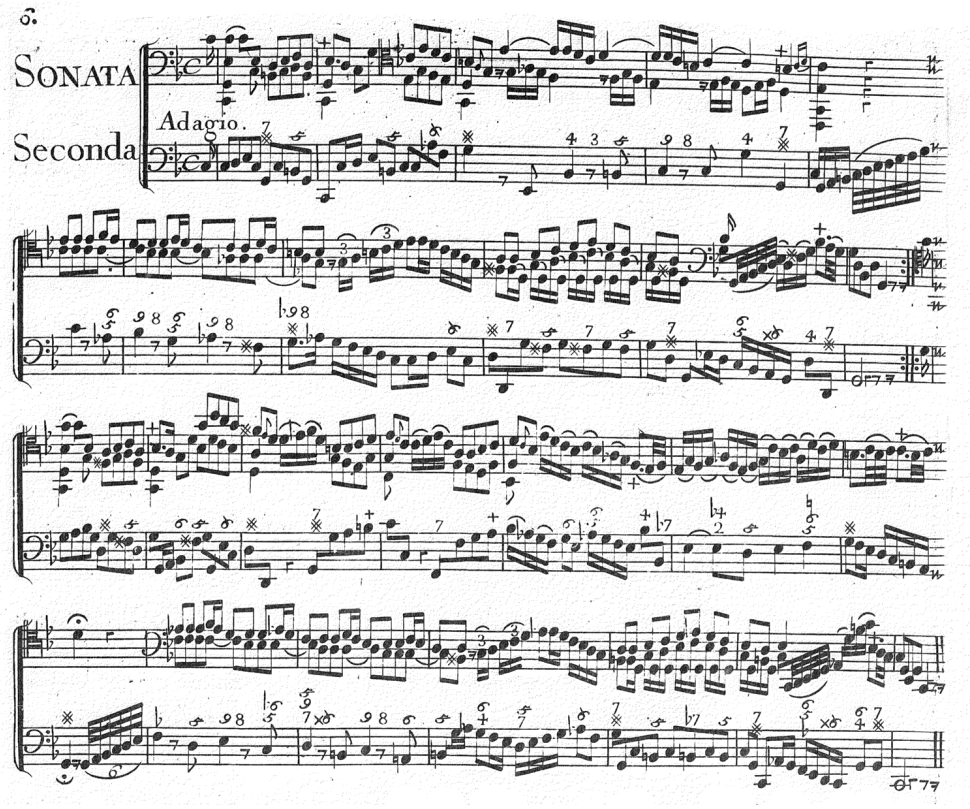
While intensive double stopping is also to be found in sonatas by Masse, it is less widely distributed. Indeed, it is confined to the Op. 2 sonatas, namely the opening movements of Sonatas II, V and VI, and two other movements from Sonata VI. That double stopping is only lightly used in Masse's other sets of sonatas suggests that he saw intensive double stopping as a more advanced technique not suitable for the technically (and musically) less demanding Opp. 3, 4 and 5.[42]

In the opening movement of Sonata II in Op. 2 (Example 4.96), Masse's double stopping includes some use of consecutive sixths and considerable use of parallel thirds. The parallel thirds are more difficult to play because the left hand must shift for every change of chord (and are therefore avoided by many composers writing for cello). A further point of difficulty is Masse's use of true polyphonic writing in the solo part. He converts the customary vertical double stopping into a linear technique whereby two 'voices', double-stopped by one cello, are rhythmically contraposed (bars 3–4, for example), or distinguished by a suspension as in bars 5–7. Here, the technique, in addition to being musically very effective, demands skillful use of the bow. This technique is discussed in further detail under the heading 'Polyphonic writing in the solo part', below.

Double stopping is also used in the opening movement of Sonata V in the same set (Example 4.96), although it is not as extensive as in Sonata II. The whole movement is shown to demonstrate how the double stopping differs from, and is more sparse than, that in Sonata II. In this case, however, instead of consecutive thirds, the double-stops in bars 2–3, with their combination of sixths and thirds, allow most of the passage to be played in the first position, without shifting.

Of all the sonatas in this set, Sonata VI is the richest in double stopping. In the opening movement, there is more extensive use of the polyphonic double-stopping technique used in Sonata II, as well as consecutive thirds, and a new technique—the use of a (single-stopped) melody, punctuated by chords, in the manner of a guitar (Example 4.98). Two other movements in this sonata use double stopping heavily, although not as extensively as the movements from other sonatas in the set. The second movement, a rondo *Allegro ma non presto,* has much double stopping, but it is less continuous. In the first *couplet,* the solo cello doubles the continuo bass a third higher, while

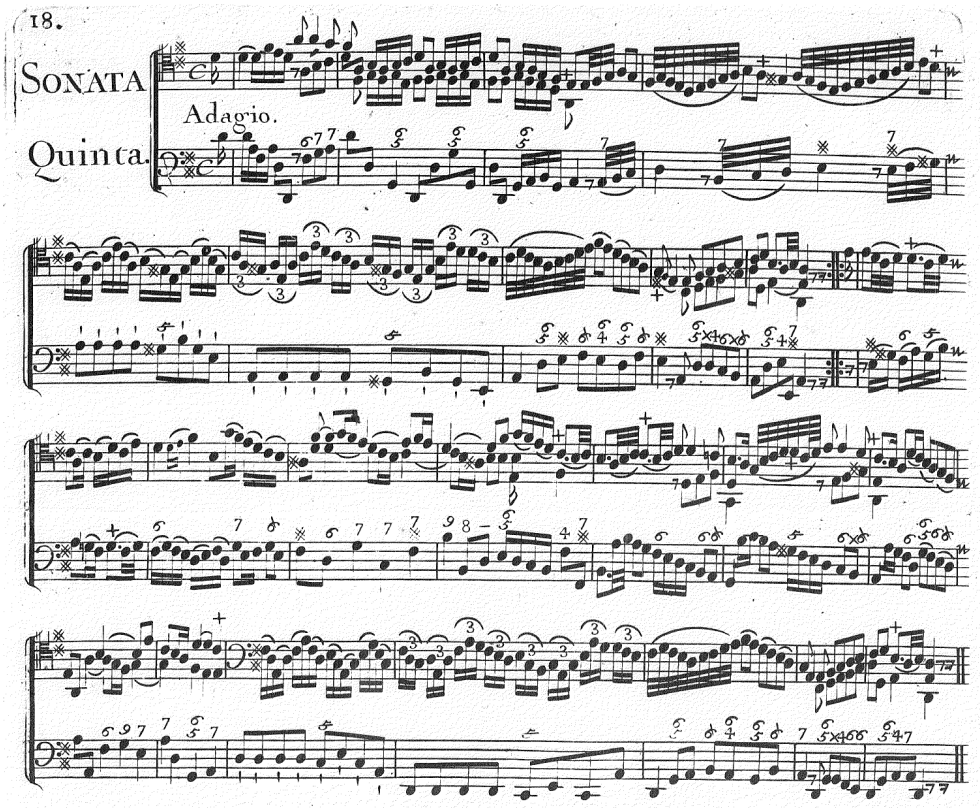
42. Masse may not have developed this technique at the time of the Op. 1 collection, or he may have but considered it not suitable for the intended market of his sonatas. Interestingly, in the *avertissement* to his fourth book of *Pièces de viole,* Marais makes a similar acknowledgement that he has "eu attention de travailler pour les personnes qui preferent aux Pieces difficiles, celles qui sont aisées, chantantes, et peu chargées d'acords" (considered those who prefer to difficult pieces those which are easy, singing and not filled with chords) in the first part of this collection.



Example 4.96: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata II, *Adagio.* Location: page 6, systems 1–4.

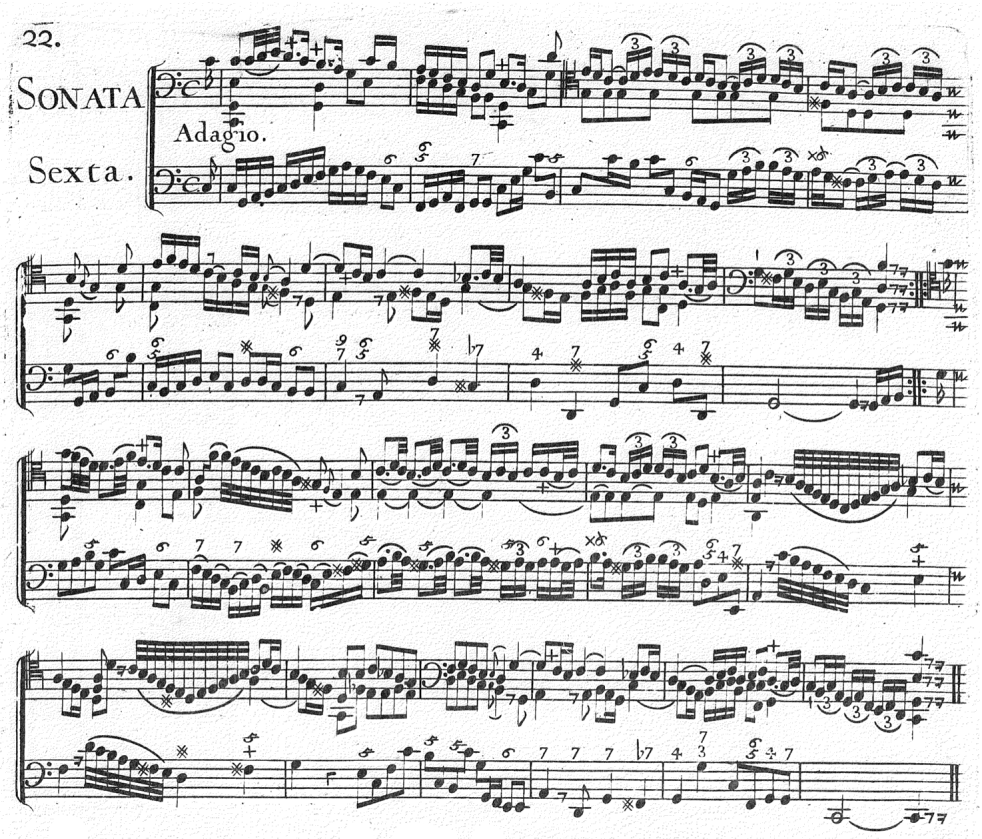
also maintaining a relatively static line in the upper part (Example 4.99). Later in the same movement, the suspensions briefly suggest two-voice interplay in the solo part, but the music lacks the intricate polyphony found in some slow movements (Example 4.100, top system). Finally, for two bars the open D-string is used as a drone, playing the true bass below the continuo and the upper line of the solo cello part, which are in thirds (Example 4.100, lower system). The second *Aria* movement (Aria 2a) is also rich in double-stops. These are by no means technically difficult, but the extent of double stopping used is typically French (Example 4.101). The commonality between these three composers—Barrière, Martin, and Masse—is in the profusion of double stopping, at least in the sonatas discussed above. Each, however, uses thickly double-stopped movements in their own unique way.

All of the examples above have been drawn from relatively virtuosic sonatas. Thickly double-stopped movements, however, are not confined only to advanced, or virtuosic movements. They are also found in Boismortier's sonatas, which are among the simpler and more amateur-focused of the sonatas in this study. For example, the brief third movement, *Adagio*, from

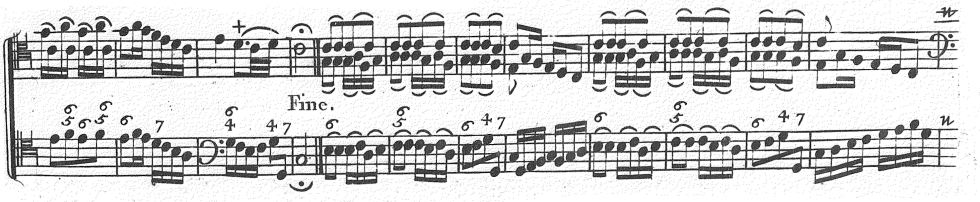


Example 4.97: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata V, *Adagio.* Location: page 18, systems 1–4.

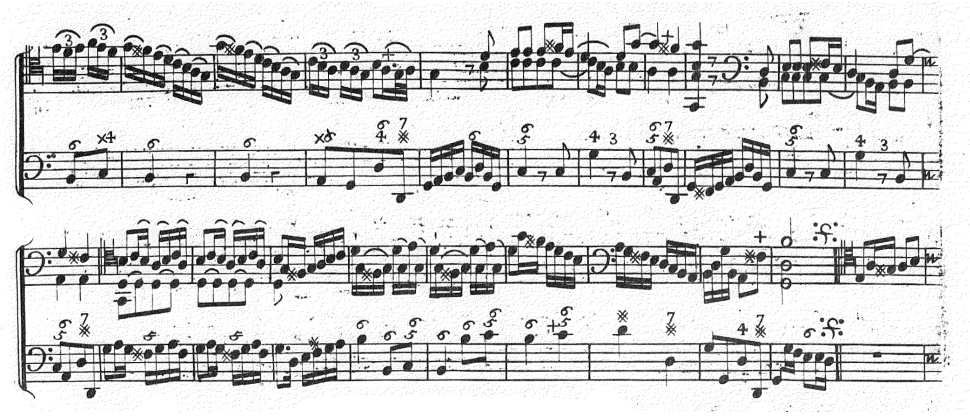
Sonata III in Boismortier's Op. 26 is double-stopped throughout (other than the first three beats which are not double stopped), in spite of the range not exceeding *e'* (Example 4.102). Moreover, in this extract, unlike in some of Boismortier's other double-stopped movements, the double stops do not merely replicate the continuo part (other than for the first two beats of the third bar). Another example, also in a brief slow movement, is the *Adagio* movement in Sonata V of the same collection (Example 4.103). The later Op. 50 set of sonatas is even more rich in double stopping. The opening *Largo* in Sonata II makes effective use of the open D- and G-strings in double-stops which are easy to play, befitting the amateur status of the sonatas. Here, the double stops in this movement do frequently double the continuo bass part. This is possibly so that the sonata can still be played by a bassoon, as advertised on the title page, without the music being shortchanged by the lack of notes. The third movement of this same sonata is rich in double stopping of a unique kind: the double stops are all drones, in imitation of the rustic instruments then popular at the French court. Another movement which is double-stopped continuously (even if the lower part of the cello's



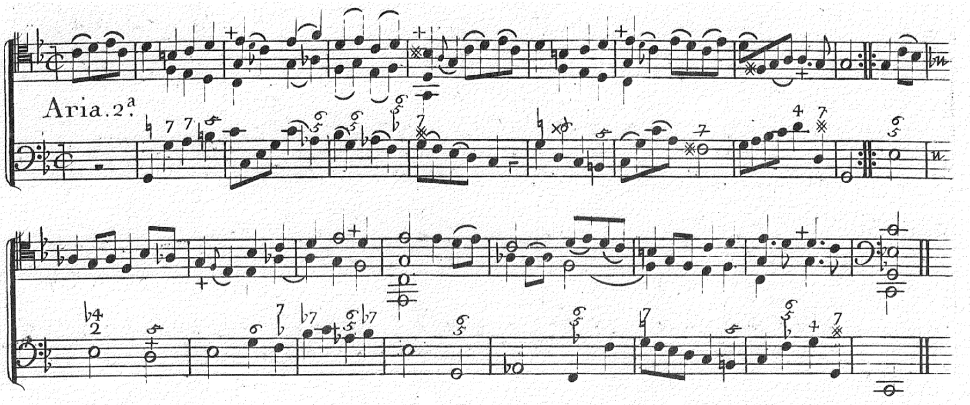
Example 4.98: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata VI, *Adagio.* Location: page 22, systems 1–4.



Example 4.99: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata VI, *Allegro ma non presto.* Location: page 22, lowermost system.



Example 4.100: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata VI, *Allegro ma non presto.* Location: page 23, systems 2–3.

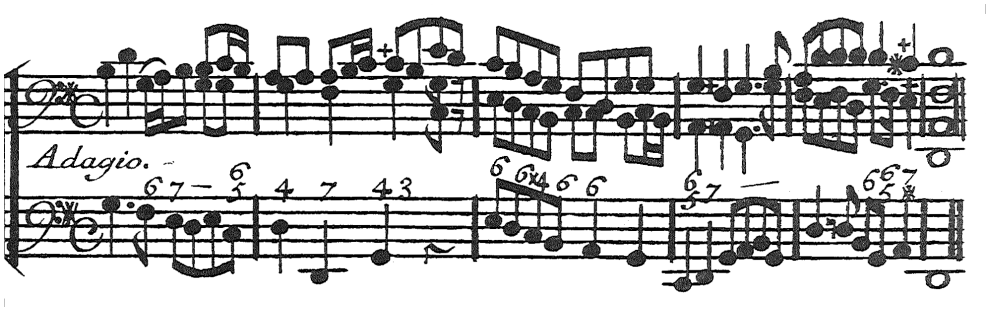


Example 4.101: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata VI, *Aria 2a.* Location: page 24, systems 3–4.

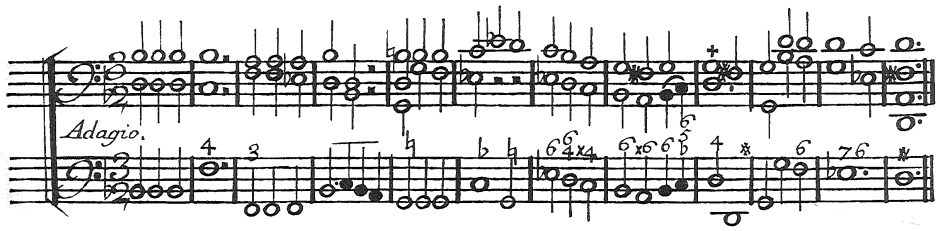
double stops mostly doubles the bass) is the third movement, *Largo,* from Sonata V [labelled *Sonata Quarta* in the print] (Example 4.104).

A further example may be drawn from a technically simple collection, Spourny's Op. 9, which, like the Boismortier example just cited, uses only the bass clef. In Sonata III (Example 4.105). In the first *Musette,* double stops are used most of the way through. Although the hand must reach to the fifth position, the double stops are kept deliberately simple, using mostly open strings. Apart from those in the fifth position, which in any case can be played with a harmonic, all others can be played in the first or fourth positions, the two simplest positions on the instrument. [43]

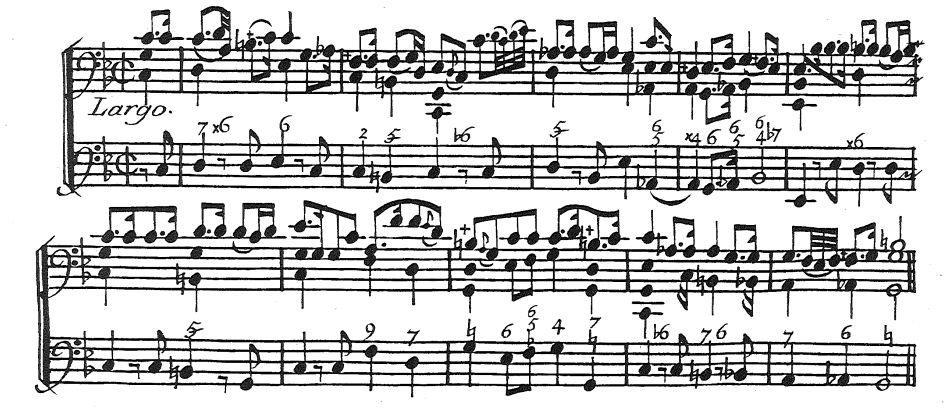
43. The fourth position is easier to find than the second or third positions, because the thumb can find a natural resting place at the base of the neck. It corresponds to the violinist's third position in terms of pedagogy.



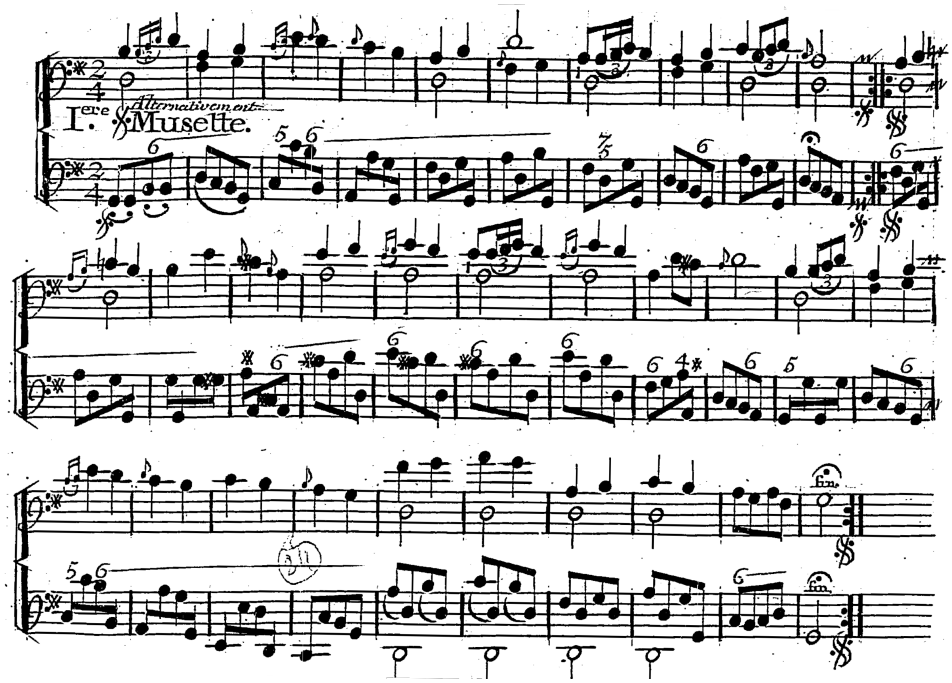
Example 4.102: Boismortier, Op. 26, Sonata III, *Adagio.* Location: page 9, system 3.



Example 4.103: Boismortier, Op. 26, Sonata V, *Adagio.* Location: page 15, system 2.



Example 4.104: Boismortier, Op. 50, Sonata V [quarta], *Largo.* Location: page 18, systems 5–6.



Example 4.105: Spourny, Op. 9, Sonata III, *Musette I.* Location: page 9, systems 2–4.

Passages of Intermittent Double Stopping

The above discussion has focused on cases where all, or at least most, of a movement was composed in double stops. Those movements were confined to the work of five composers: three who wrote used them in virtuosic or advanced cello sonatas (Martin, Barrière, and Masse), and two who used them in sonatas aimed at the amateur market (Boismortier and Spourny). These composers, naturally, also used double stopping in other movements which also contain passages of single-stopping. In the following paragraphs, we will consider the use of double stopping in movements where it is not continuous.

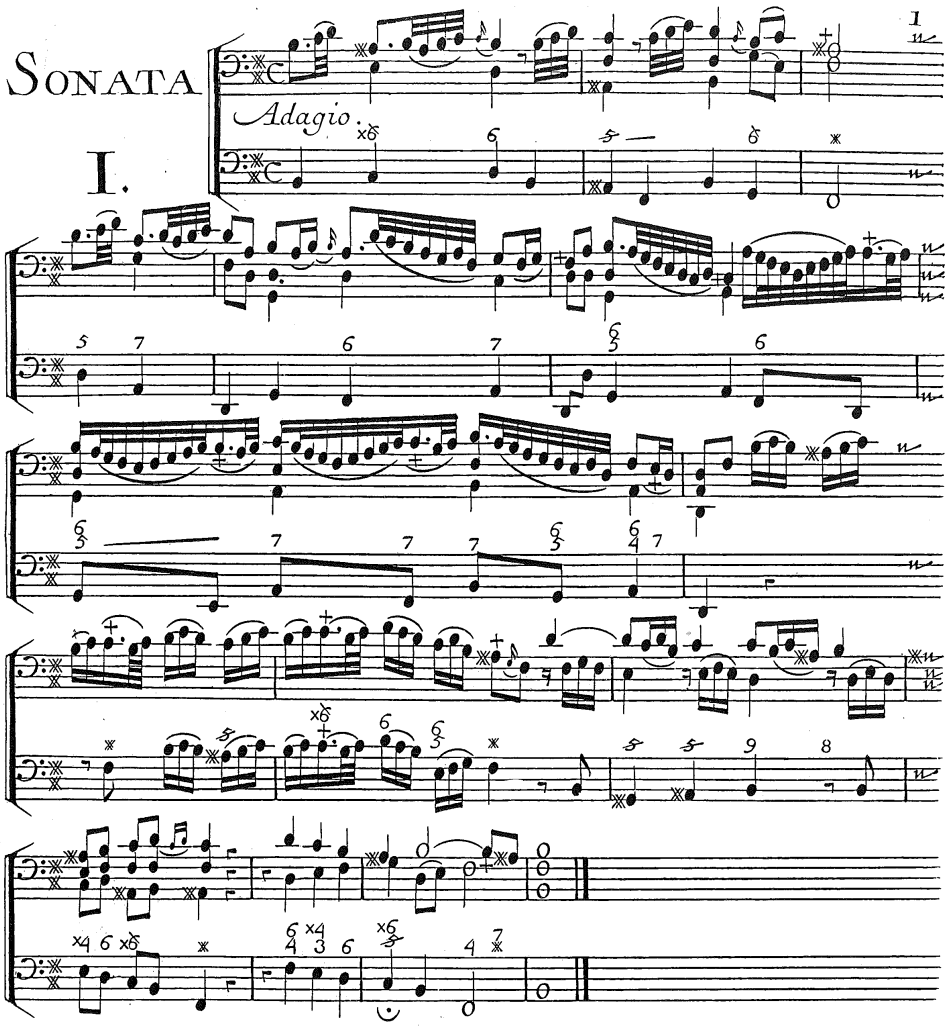
It is in the Barrière sonatas that both the most and the richest variety of double-stops can be found. (This is in spite of the fact that Barrière uses continuously-double-stopped movements sparingly, compared to Masse and Martin.) The double-stops are not divided evenly between the books or sonatas. The most difficult (even seemingly unplayable), double stops are found in Livre I. Livre II has five instances of thickly-double stopped movements, and one example of chords which are to be played with a *ricochet* bowing. Interestingly, the later collections, Livre III and IV, which are more Italianate in style, and were published (though not necessarily composed) after the cellist's trip to Italy, have fewer double-stops than the earlier books.

The only noteworthy double-stops in Livre III are in the highly virtuosic (and atypical for this set) Sonata IV. In Livre IV, the double-stops, which in any case are fewer in number than in the first two books, are largely static, consisting of repeated notes in various tempos, in contrast to the constantly changing double-stops in the examples discussed above. Thus, the style-changes in the cello repertoire of this period are reflected in the changes in Barrière's use of double stopping. The later sets (Livres III and IV) are more in line with the sonatas of Patouart and Berteau. Although virtuosic in their own way, they are thinner in texture and lacking in double stops compared to the earlier Barrière sonatas, as well as being more galant and Italianate in style.

The opening movement in Livre I, Sonata I, has been singled out by Phillpott for its use of double-stops, in imitation of the viol (Example 4.106).[44] The overall style in this movement is very French, and the double-stops are in deliberate imitation of the chordal viol writing found, for example, in many of the *pièces de viole* of Marais. However, from the perspective of double stopping, the double stops are less virtuosic than some of the instances found in the Masse sonatas. Until the final six bars, the double stopping consists largely of chords interspersed in the melodic line (the "chord–melody" style discussed above in the discussion on Masse). It is only at the end of bar 8 that the solo cello begins a "polyphonic" passage almost identical to those found in Masse (see bars 3–4 in Example 4.96 and bars 5–7 in Example 4.98), followed, in bars 10–13, by a passage of truly successive double-stops.

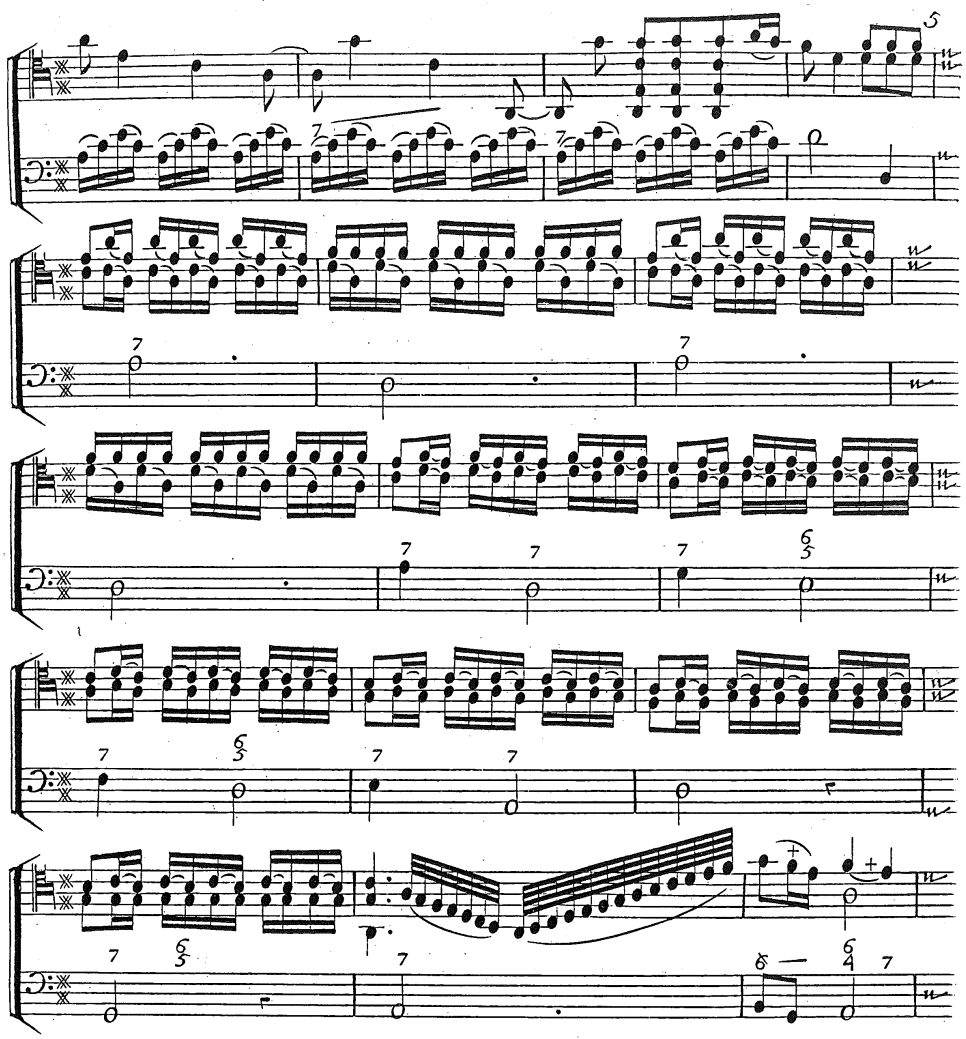
A most unusual example of continuous double stopping, which has no equivalent anywhere else in the French cello repertoire from this period, or indeed in any other cello repertoire occurs in the *Andante* movement of the same sonata (Example 4.107). The difficulties encountered in playing this passage have been discussed in Chapter 3. A similar passage, again seemingly unplayable, occurs in the third movement (*Adagio*) of Sonata III in the same Livre. The movement is shown in full in Example 4.108. A further example of the same technique may be found in Sonata IV in Livre II (Example 4.109). This is the only instance of this technique which occurs outside of Livre I. It is likely that in all of these examples, the notation is a shorthand, with the upper voice being split into smaller note values, since it is not practical to sustain a long note on one string while playing articulated slurs on another. In terms of the left hand, the passage may be played using the thumb position, although this seems unlikely: the upper register is not used anywhere in these two sets, even though the use of the thumb in the

44. Phillpott, p. 92, adds that "here, one encounters some remarkable polyphony within the solo part itself, along with elaborate ornamentation in the form of *tremblements, ports de voix,* and *tirades* (rapid scalar figurations). Meanwhile, the melodic material itself is built primarily on well-paced stepwise motion."



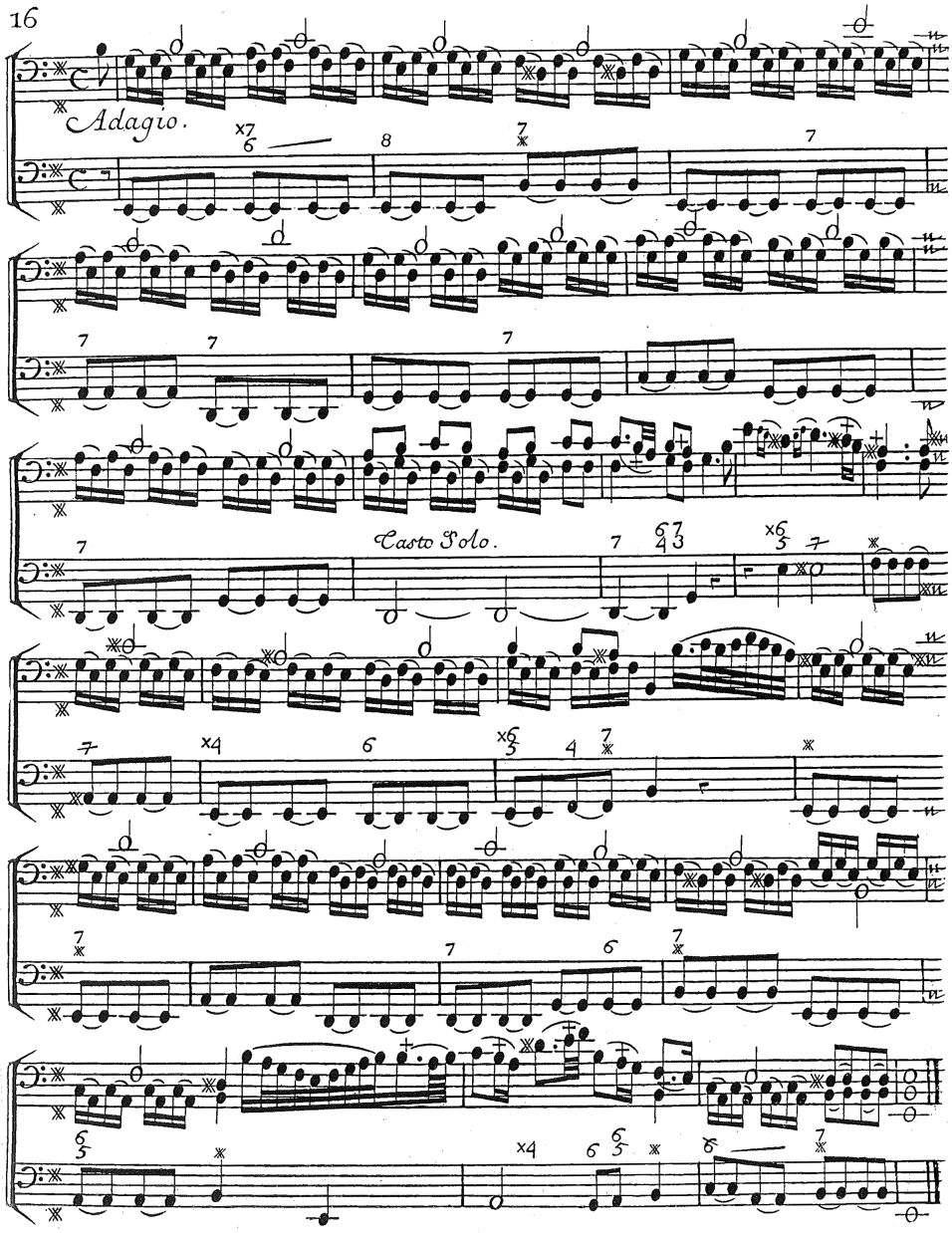
Example 4.106: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata I, *Adagio.* Location: page 1 (whole page).

upper registers is easier and almost certainly developed before its use in the lower registers. Therefore, it is most likely that a cello with a short string length was used, so that the interval of a fourth could be reached within one position.

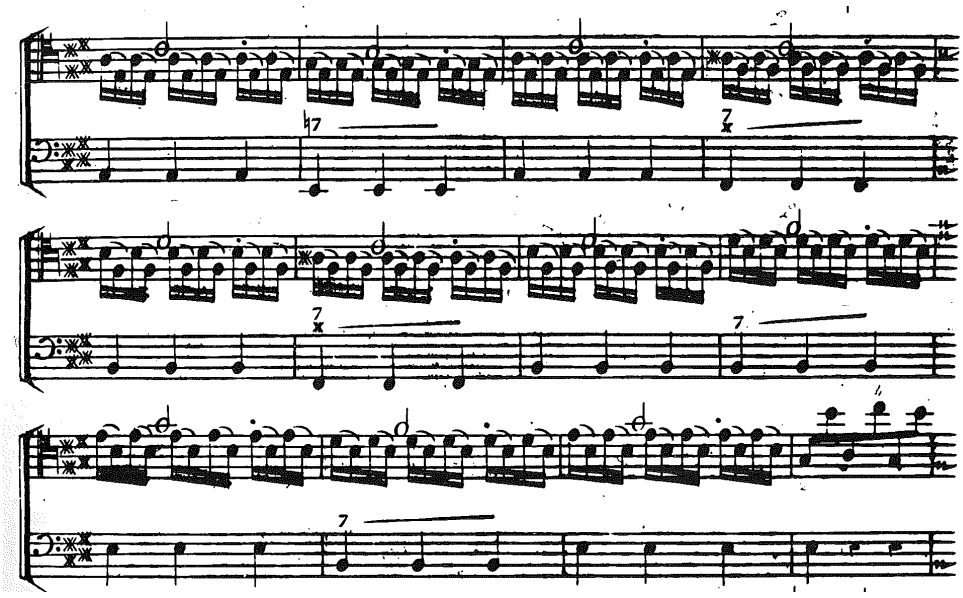


Example 4.107: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata I, *Andante*. Location: page 5, systems 1–5.

A significant example of a thickly double-stopped movement by Barrière is the *Adagio* movement from Sonata II (Example 4.110). Here, continuous double stopping in the solo cello part (bars 1–9) is followed by a drone passage (bars 11–14) and then polyphonic double stopping (bars 16–22). The drone passage then returns, (bars 25–29) and the movement ends with chords. The second cello is released for almost all of this movement, other than the polyphonic section, so that the whole movement has a three- or four- part



Example 4.108: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata III, *Adagio*. Location: page 16, whole page.



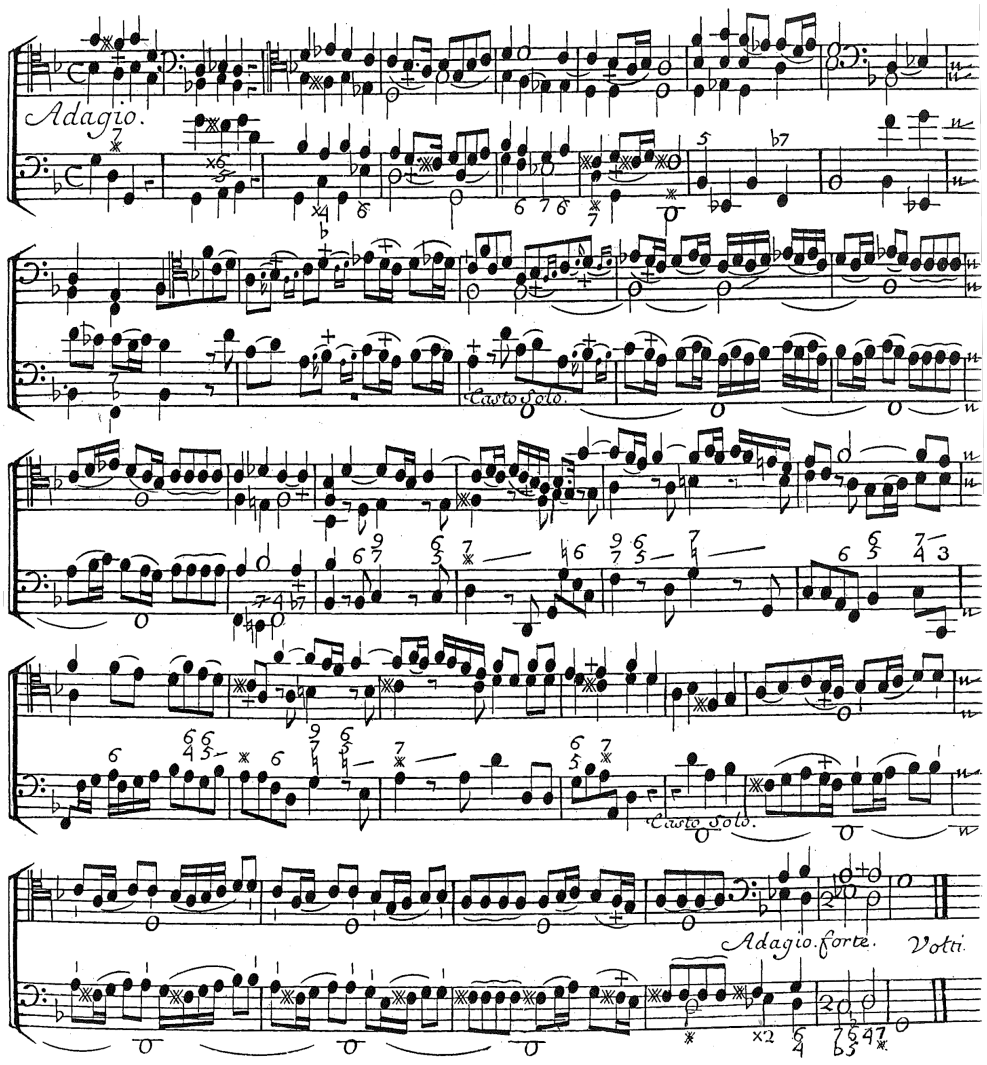
Example 4.109: Barrière, Livre II, Sonata IV, *Allegro*. Location: page 13, systems 3–5.

texture. A very similar texture may be found in the *Adagio* movement of Sonata IV (Example 4.111). The difference here is that the second cello is released for the entire movement, and its part is notated on a separate stave. Texturally this movement is otherwise similar to the example from Livre I, Sonata II, in that the first cello double-stops, while the second is used to play echo passages of the first cello's melody. The double-stops themselves are not terribly difficult, consisting of parallel thirds, drones against the open strings, and other intervals which fall easily under the hand.

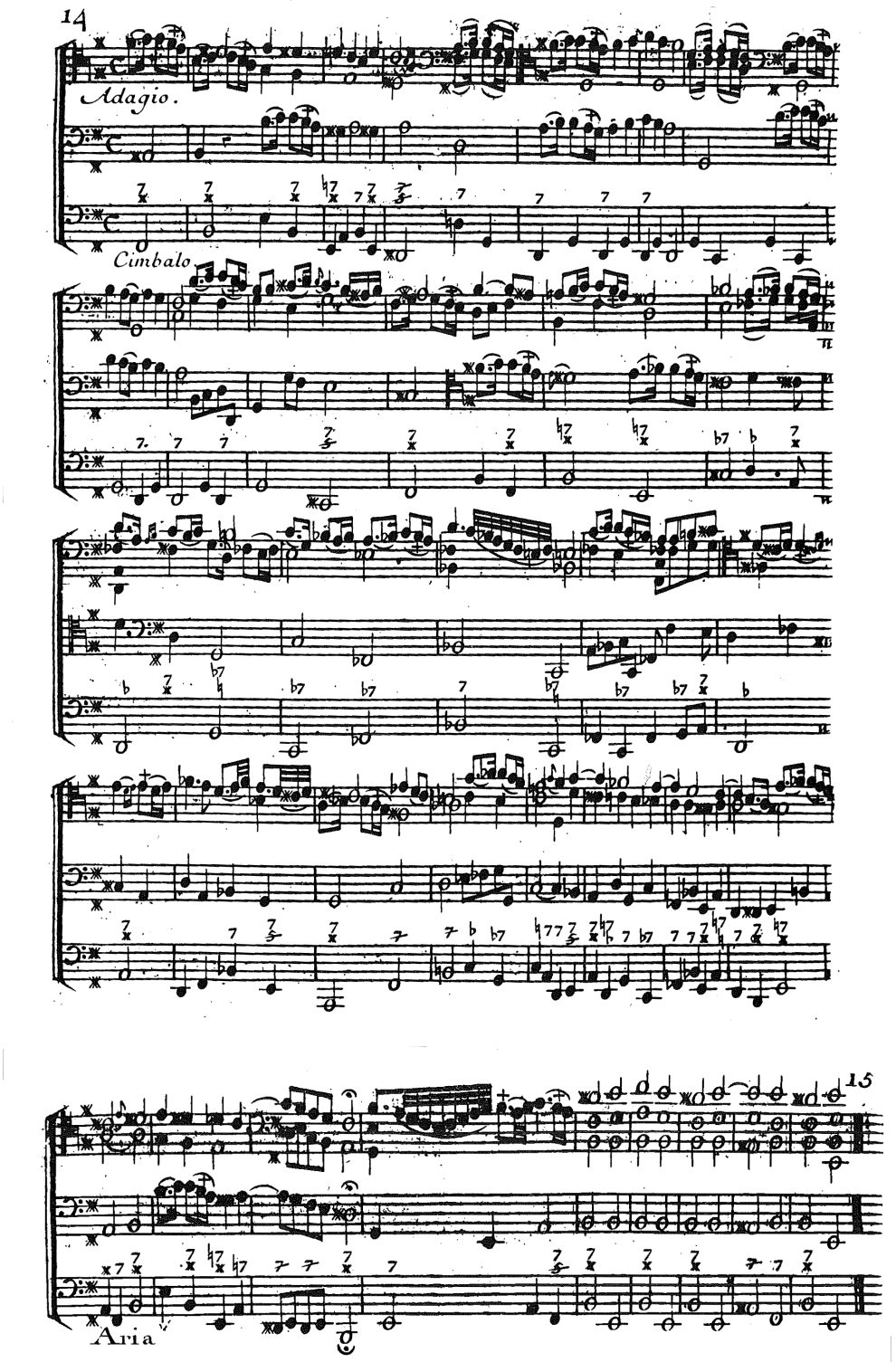
Detail Drones, where a melody is played on one string while a held note is sustained on an adjacent string, are remarkably common in the French cello repertoire of this period. It may have originated in imitation of the rustic instruments, hurdy-gurdy and musette, which for which there was a craze at the French court around the middle of the eighteenth century. However, its key use seems to be to highlight the structure of a movement. Examples of such drone double-stops may be found in Martin's Sonata II, in both the first and second movements (Examples 4.112 and 4.113). In both cases, the drone note is doubled one octave lower by the chordal continuo, while the released second cello doubles the solo cello melody a third lower.

Although this use of drones is a technique normally for the solo cellist, in the first of Blainville's duos it is the second cello which has a drone to play; in this case it is the open G-string that is used, while an inner counter-melody to the first cello's melodic material is played high on the D-string (Example 4.114).[45]

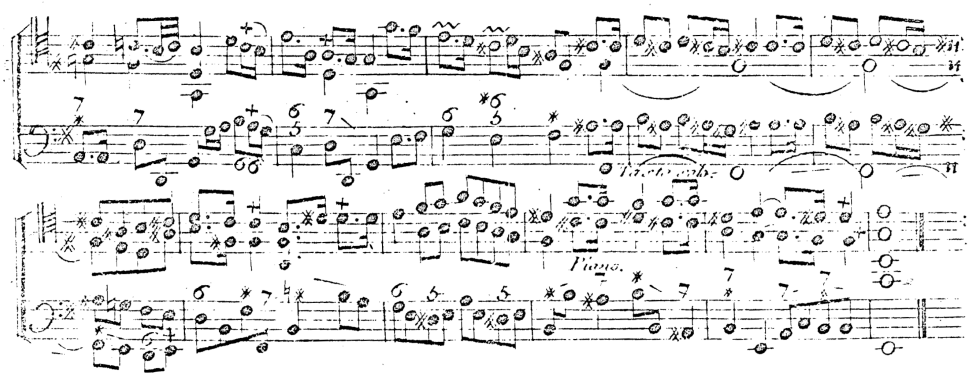
45. Despite similarities in visual appearance, this is a drone part, and not a case of the second cello being released while a harpsichord plays the *G*, since these are duos and not continuo sonatas.



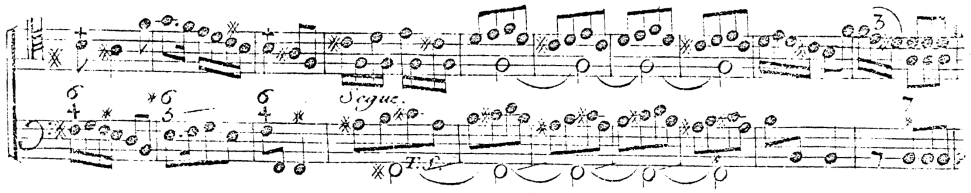
Example 4.110: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata II, *Adagio.* Location: page 11, systems 2–6.



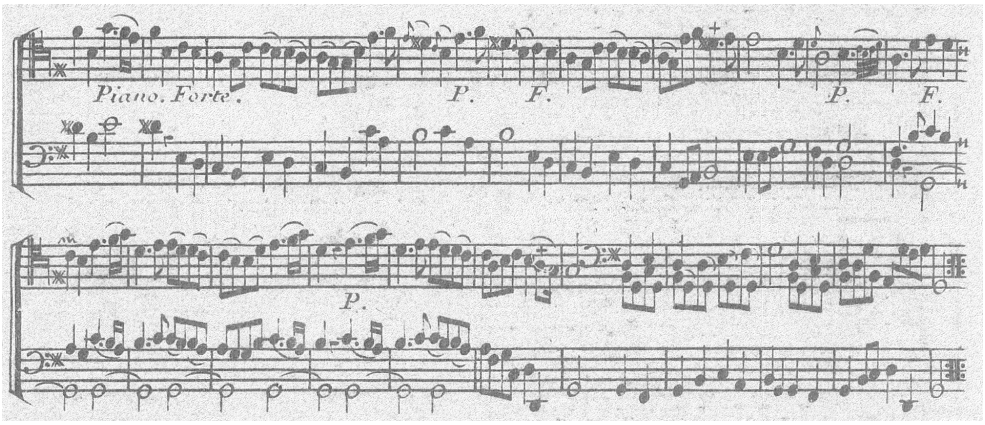
Example 4.111: Barrière, Livre II, Sonata IV, *Adagio.* Location: page 14, whole page, and page 15, system 1.



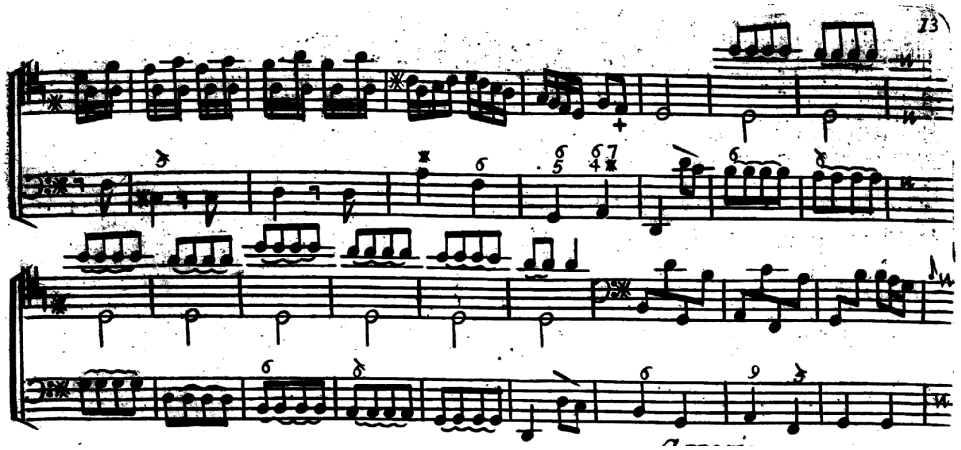
Example 4.112: Martin, Sonata II, *Adagio*, first movement. The drone begins at the end of bar 3 of the extract. Location: systems 2–3, page 4.



Example 4.113: Martin, Sonata II, *Allegro*, showing drones. The drone begins in bar 5 of the extract. Location: page 4, system 6 (second system from bottom).



Example 4.114: Blainville, Sonata I, *Aria Gracioso*, showing the use of drone double stopping in the second cello part. Location: page 13, systems 4–6.



Example 4.115: Patouart, Sonata IV, *Presto*, bars 64–80, showing the use of the open D-string as a drone while repeated notes are played on the A-string.

A 'textbook example' of the use of drones can be found in Patouart's Sonata IV, in the second movement *(Presto):* the D-string is used as a drone, while repeated notes, marked with a *portato* bowing, are played in the upper-middle register on the A-string (Example 4.115). This is the typical tessitura and use of the drone technique, although normally the A-string material is of a more melodic nature.

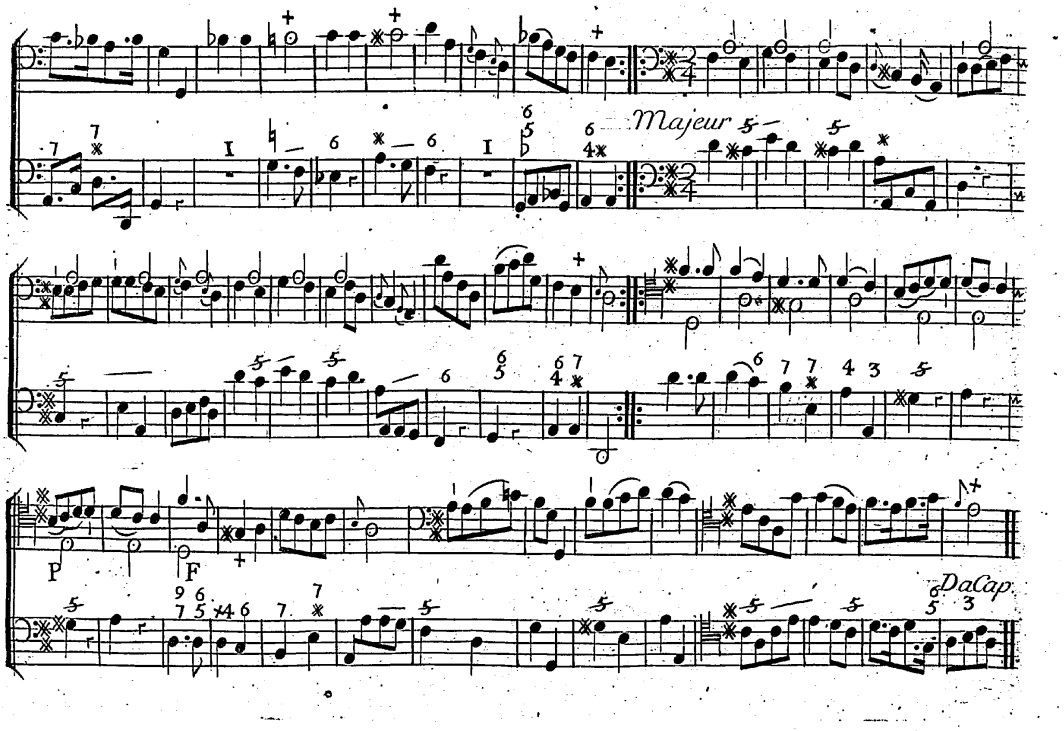
Although it is normally the A-string that carries the melody while the D-string is used to play the drone notes, in a very effective and idiomatic example in Baur's Sonata III (Example 4.116), it is the open A-string that is used as a drone, while the melody is played below it, on the D-string, in a reversal of the usual roles. (After the repeat mark, the D-string is then used for harmonic support, while the melody is returned to the A-string.)

*

Another example of extensive double-stopping, although it is thinner in texture than the G minor example discussed above, is the opening movement of Barrière's Sonata IV (Example 4.117). This example is much more Italianate, in terms of the melodic style and the bass line, as well as the suspensions (system 4), reminiscent of the 'old' trio sonata style.

Finally, the opening *Largo* movement to Sonata VI also contains extensive passages of double-stops, although these are not as dominant as in the other opening movements in Livre I which are composed "in double stops" (Example 4.118) . There is a long series of descending thirds, similar to those in the third movement of Sonata I (Example 4.107), followed later by a passage of polyphonic writing.

Detail Parallel thirds double stops are a highly virtuosic technique on the cello, because the player must shift positions between each pair of notes (unless a very short



Example 4.116: Jean Baur, Sonata III, *Tempo di gavotta–Allegro*, bars 81–116, showing the use of the open A-string as a drone, with the melody played on the D-string.

fingerboard and violin-style fingerings are used). For this reason, it is surprising that parallel thirds double stops are common in the French cello repertoire from this period. The constant shifting required (at least assuming a fingering technique similar to the modern one is used), has led many cellist-composers, both in the eighteenth century and later, to avoid them in favour of sixths. In contrast, thirds are strikingly common in the early French repertoire, which indicates that the French had a way of playing these—possibly using a short string length. It is in Barrière's Livre I that parallel thirds passages are the most common.[46] Example 4.119 shows a typical use of parallel thirds. These are not difficult, even with a standard string-length, but they do require a shift between each change of note. A different example is in Martin's Sonata II (Example 4.120). In this case, the thirds are more difficult because they are in the higher neck positions. However, the short rests allow the player to shift seamlessly between the positions to play the passage. In Patouart's Sonata I (Example 4.121), the technique is used in a *Presto* tempo. It is even more unusual in a sonata as late as this, since by then the short fingerboards in use in the early part of the century were no longer common.

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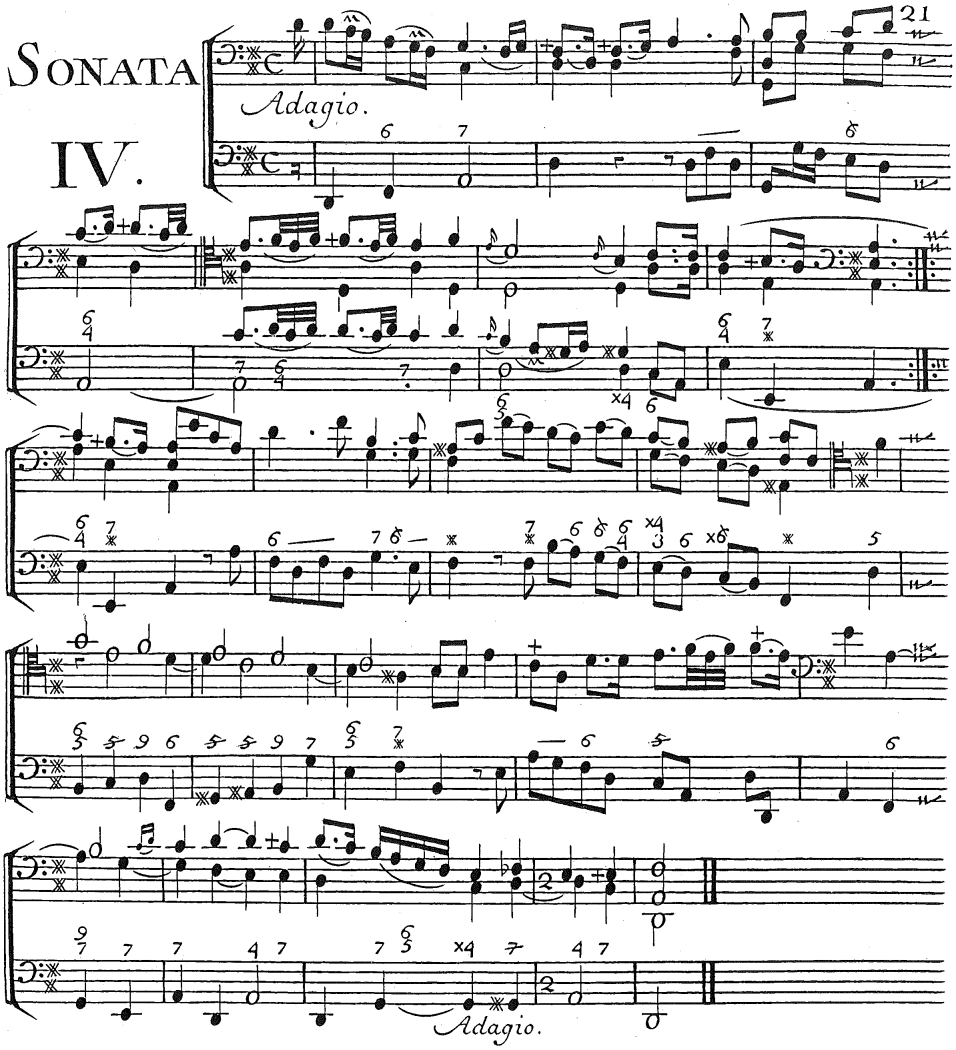
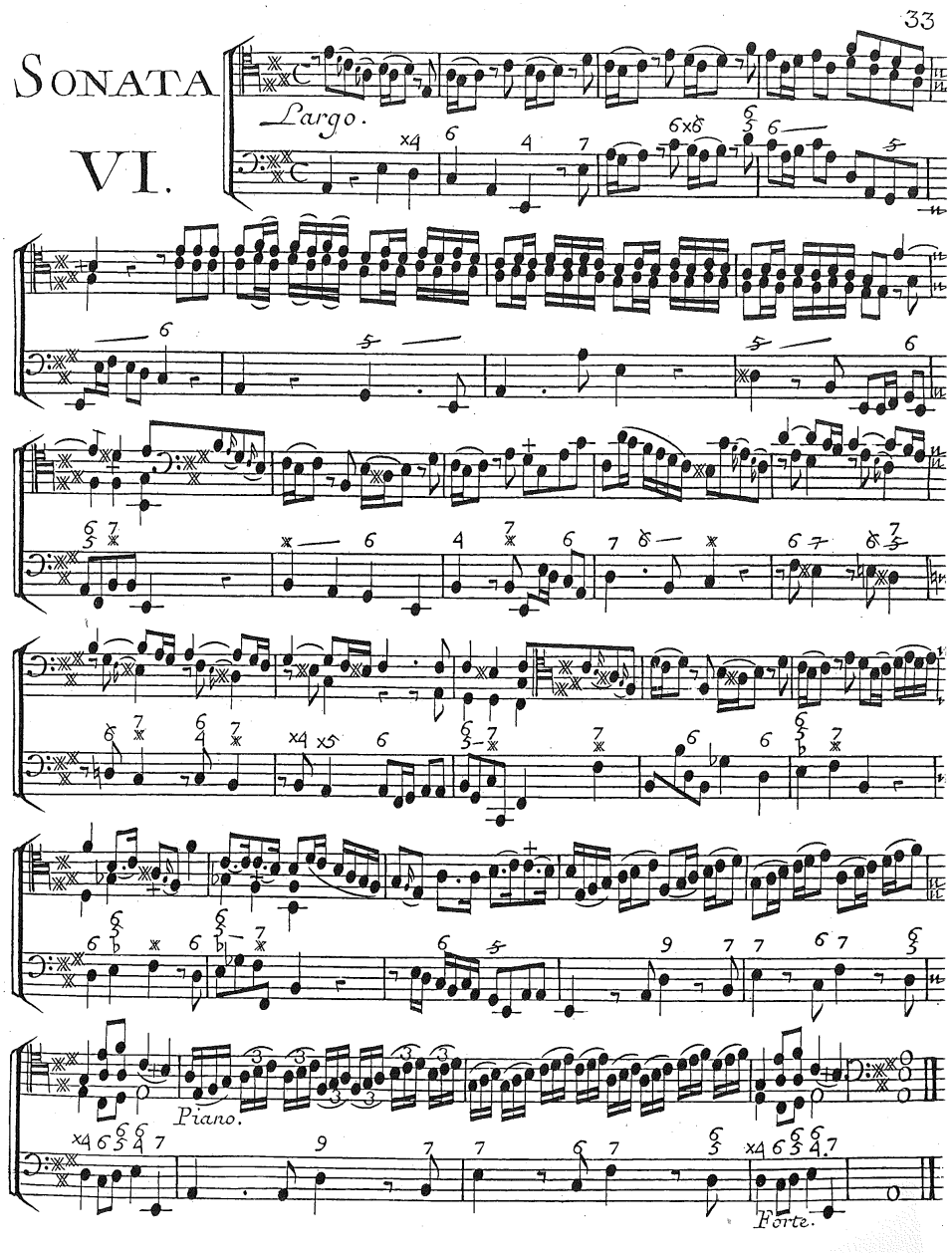
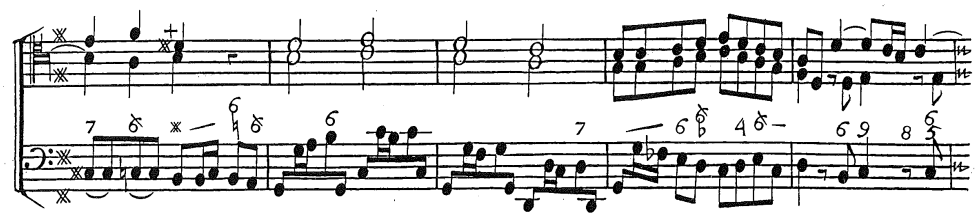
46. Several other elements of the cello writing in this book suggest that it was composed for a cello with a very short string length (sounding length no greater than c. 60 cm), which could be fingered like a violin.



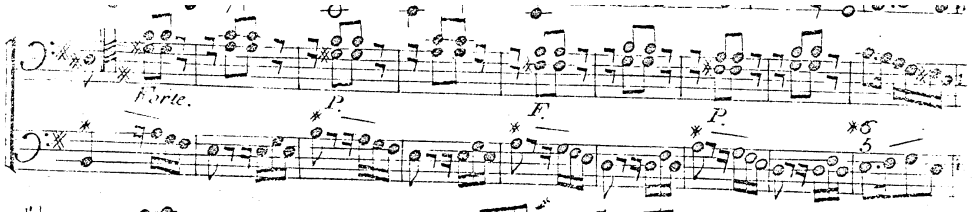
Example 4.117: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata IV, *Adagio.* Location: page 21, whole page.



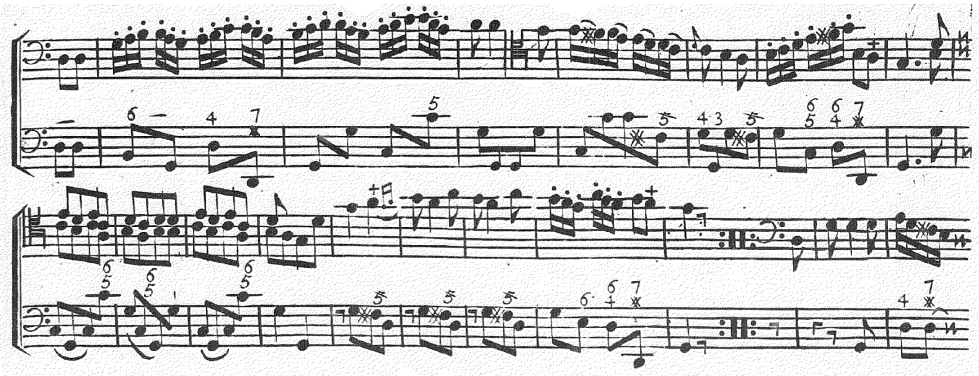
Example 4.118: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata VI, *Largo.* Location: page 33.



Example 4.119: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata III, first movement, *Adagio*, showing thirds double stops. Location: page 14, second system.



Example 4.120: Martin: Sonata II, *Allegro*, showing thirds double-stops in the higher neck positions. Location: page 4, system 5.



Example 4.121: Patouart, Sonata I, *Presto*, showing parallel thirds double stopping (in the first three bars of the second system of the example, and the anacrusis to these bars). Location: page 2, second and third systems on page.

Barrière's Livres III and IV, in contrast to the first two sets, only use double stops sparingly, which is not surprising since they are much more Italianate stylistically.[47] It is only in the Sonata IV, which is highly virtuosic compared to the others, and the final line of Sonata VI (the only sonata in this set to use the thumb position) that any noteworthy double stops are found.[48]

Sonata IV in Livre III, is arguably the most virtuosic in the collection although it does not use the thumb position, can even be considered as the most technically advanced of all the Barrière sonatas. Noteworthy double stopping, however, is confined to the final two movements.[49] It is in the short *Adagio* movement, which lasts a mere ten bars, that the 'thickest' double stopping is found in this sonata. It includes homophonic, chorale-like textures as in the completely double-stopped examples above, chords, and a drone passage. It is in the final movement of this sonata that the most adventurous double stopping occurs. After an initial flourish (where, incidentally, the second cello is silent), the *ricochet* technique used in Livre II Sonata VI is alluded to (also in the same key, B-flat major, as in the earlier work). The *Allegro* movement proper begins with a succession of three chords, a figure which points more to the later eighteenth-century cello idiom than the early French school. This may also be said of the *portato* double-stops in the last line of that page (p. 14), which prefigure similar writing in the sonatas of Boccherini. The most enterprising double stopping, however, is found towards the end of the movement. A possible solution to fingering this passage is to use the thumb, although this would indicate that the use of the thumb in the lower positions prefigured, historically, its use as a means of accessing the highest register of the cello. Another solution, much less comfortable to those trained in the modern technique, is to use the diatonic, violin-style fingerings, and keep using the fourth finger, even up into the higher neck positions.

There are few double-stops in Livre IV; those that are employed tend towards the late eighteenth-century style rather than the thick textures of the early French school. Examples include the *Allegro presto* movement in Sonata I, the final movement (*Allegro*) in Sonata III, and the *Largetto* and *Aria*

47. Phillpott, p. 110, notes that "the six sonatas of Book III are completely Italian in their style and structure, bearing the influence of the monolithic figures Corelli and Vivaldi ... For the most part, the style is strikingly similar to Vivaldi's late style, replete with direct formulae and supported by galant rhythmic subtlety."

48. Even the double-stops in the sixth sonata are not so remarkable, except that there are some in the thumb position, and those that are in the neck positions contain a lot of fifths and diminished fifths, and are awkward to finger and shift. The thumb position double stops also contain fifths, which due to the positioning of the hand are very awkward to play.

49. The first movement includes a drone passage, and the second movement includes a broken arpeggio pattern.

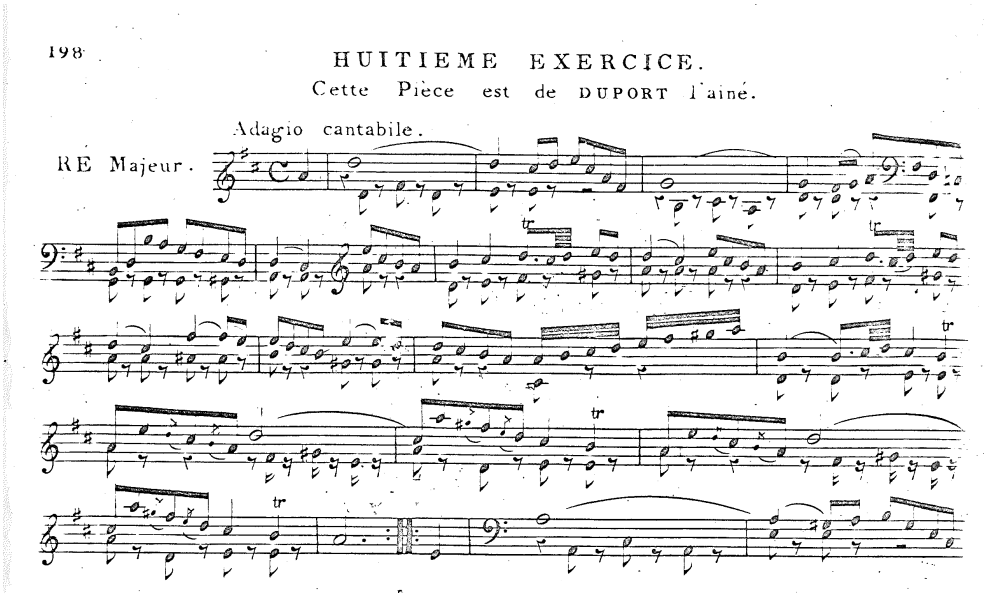
amoroso movements in Sonata V. There are also some double stops in Sonata IV, which is a duo for two cellos rather than a continuo sonata. Unexpectedly, the final sonata, which is by far the most virtuosic of any of the Barrière sonatas, is very sparse in double stopping. The only use of double stops is in the final movement, and this is confined to the cadential chords at the end, as well as 7 or 8 bars of broken arpeggios, notated as chords. Perhaps this is not that surprising, given that this sonata is very much written in the later eighteenth-century style, which eschewed thick double stops in favour of virtuosic writing in the highest register, thus satisfying the galant preference for light, clear textures then in vogue. By this time, the unique period of thick double stopping in the solo cello repertoire, unique to France because of their tradition of the chordal viol, had passed.

*

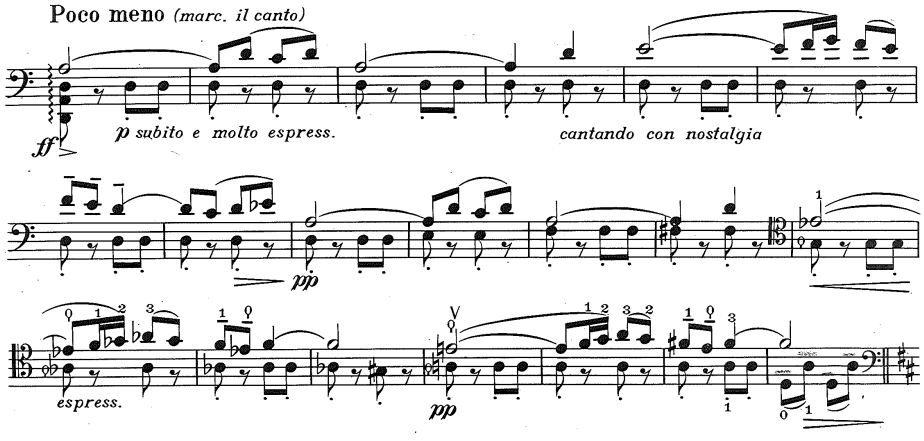
The central premise of the drone technique is that two different articulations need to be maintained at the same time: while the drone must be steady and uninterrupted, the melody above it on the other hand needs to be clearly articulated. How can both of these—the sustained drone and the articulated upper part—be played in the same bow stroke? The answer is that the bow must be lifted from the A-string as necessary (creating gaps in the sound produced on the A-string), while continuing to play on the D-string. This technique is little-used outside of the early French cello repertoire, although it appears specifically in an étude by Jean-Pierre Duport (*l'aîné),* included in Jean-Louis Duport's *Essai* as No. 8 (Example 4.122). The technique is also called for sporadically in more recent cello repertoire, such as Cassadó's *Suite per Violoncello* (Example 4.123). However, its fullest application is in the French sonatas composed before 1760. Not only is this technique necessary to play the drone passages such as those discussed above, but also in some passages not specifically using drones, but requiring a different articulation of the two voices in a double-stop passage. For example, the repeated notes in the the *Adagio* in Patouart's Sonata IV (Example 4.124) demand the same technique, although the musical character is different from the drone examples discussed above. A further example (Example 4.115) from the same set of sonatas by Patouart, has been discussed above on page 215.

Polyphonic Writing in the Solo Part

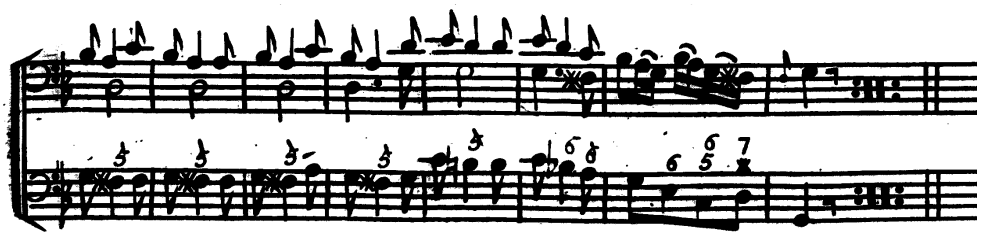
An idiomatic device used frequently by the French cellist-composers is two-part writing in double stops, with one part moving at a time, while the other holds a long note, and the two parts alternating in dialogue fashion. An example can be found in one of the few double-stop passages in the Berteau sonatas (Example 4.125). Here, in this two-voiced passage, the long notes



Example 4.122: Jean-Pierre Duport, opening bars of Exercise no. 8, in Jean-Louis Duport, *Essai sur le doigté du violoncelle et sur la conduite de l'archet*, p. 198.

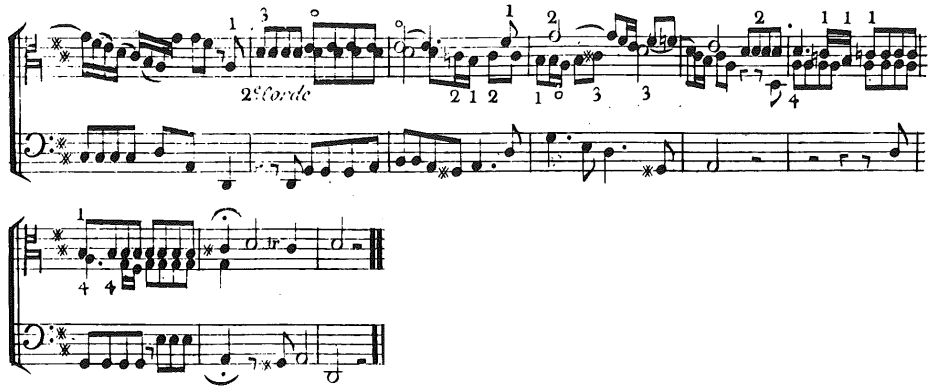


Example 4.123: Gaspar Cassadó (1897–1966), *Suite per violoncello solo* (1926), second movement: *Sardana (Danza)*, bars 56–75.



Example 4.124: Patouart, Sonata IV, first movement, *Adagio,* showing the an articulated upper part while the lower voice plays long held notes (first three bars of extract). Location: page 11, lowermost system on page.

need to be held while the other part moves, including playing repeated notes. Lewis has addressed this issue, arguing that "possible solutions include releasing the held note in order to play the other line, re-striking the held note every time there is a new note in the other part, and manipulating the bow such that it re-strikes on one string but holds on the other".[50] Mentioning the Duport *Étude* cited above (Example 4.122), she concludes that "this last solution is one that is worth exploring".[51] In fact, the extent to which such passages occur in lesser-known French cello sonatas from this period indicates that it was an integral part of French cello technique at this time.

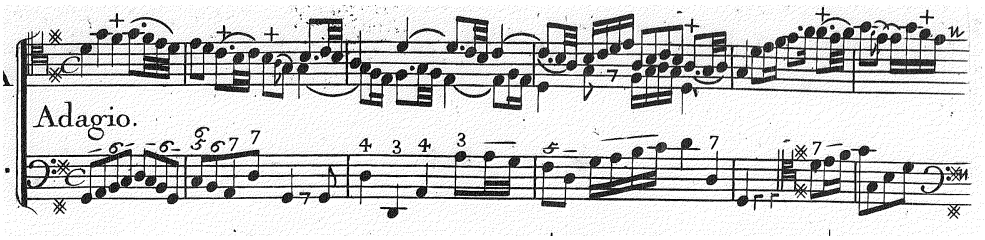


Example 4.125: Berteau, Sonata II, *Grave.* Location: 1771 edition, page 8, systems 2–3.

A typical example of this technique can be found in Masse's Op. 2, in Sonata III (Example 4.126). The parts invariably move one at a time. In this

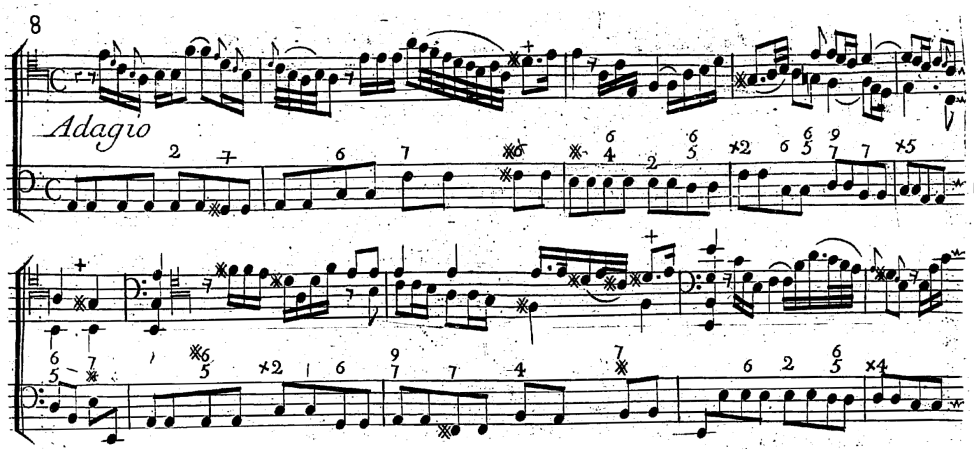
50. Lewis, p. 52.
51. ibid.

case, it remains unclear whether the 'Duport' bowing technique would have been used, since there are no repeated notes to articulate as in the Berteau example above. If this bowing technique were not used, the solution would be to release the long notes on the beat, and slur the moving parts.



Example 4.126: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata III, *Adagio,* showing polyphonic double stopping (bars 2–4 of extract). Location: page 10, first system on page.

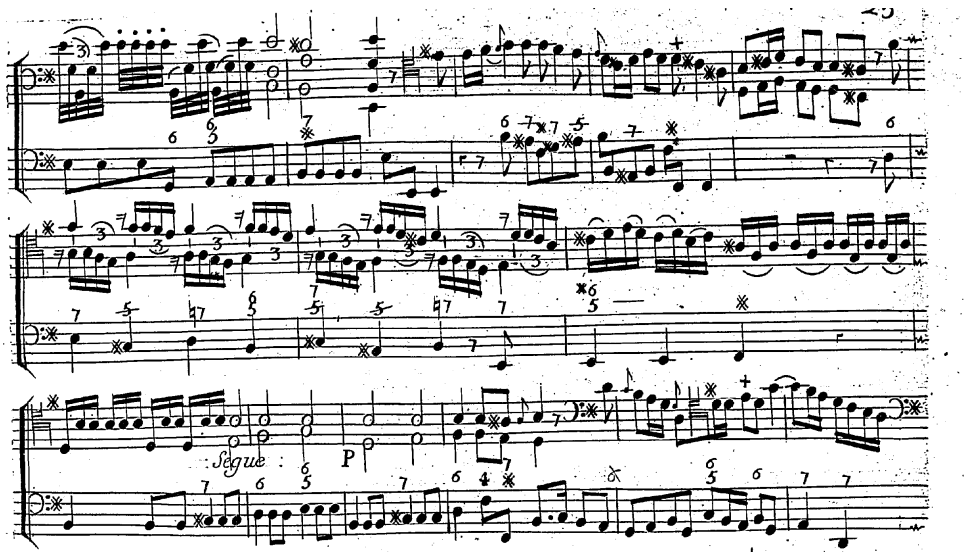
There are also several instances of this in the collection by Jean Baur. In Sonata II, the *Adagio* movement (Example 4.127) is quite thickly double-stopped, including several bars that use the polyphonic double-stopping technique (bars 4-5 of the extract; a larger portion of the movement is given in the extract in order to show the context).



Example 4.127: Baur, Sonata II, *Adagio,* showing polyphonic double stopping (bars 4–5 of extract) within the context of a thickly double-stopped movement. Location: page 8, first three systems on page.

Example 4.128 shows a much more typical use of this technique, in the sense that it is used as a stand-alone technique for a number of bars, as a virtuosic device, before the music moves on to other textures. Here, as in bars 8–9 of Example 4.127, the long note in each case could simply be played as a quaver (Example 4.127) or semiquaver (Example 4.128), since there are

no suspensions. This could well be a notational convention of the era, rather than an express instruction to use the 'Duport' bowing in such a passage, where it seems counter-intuitive.



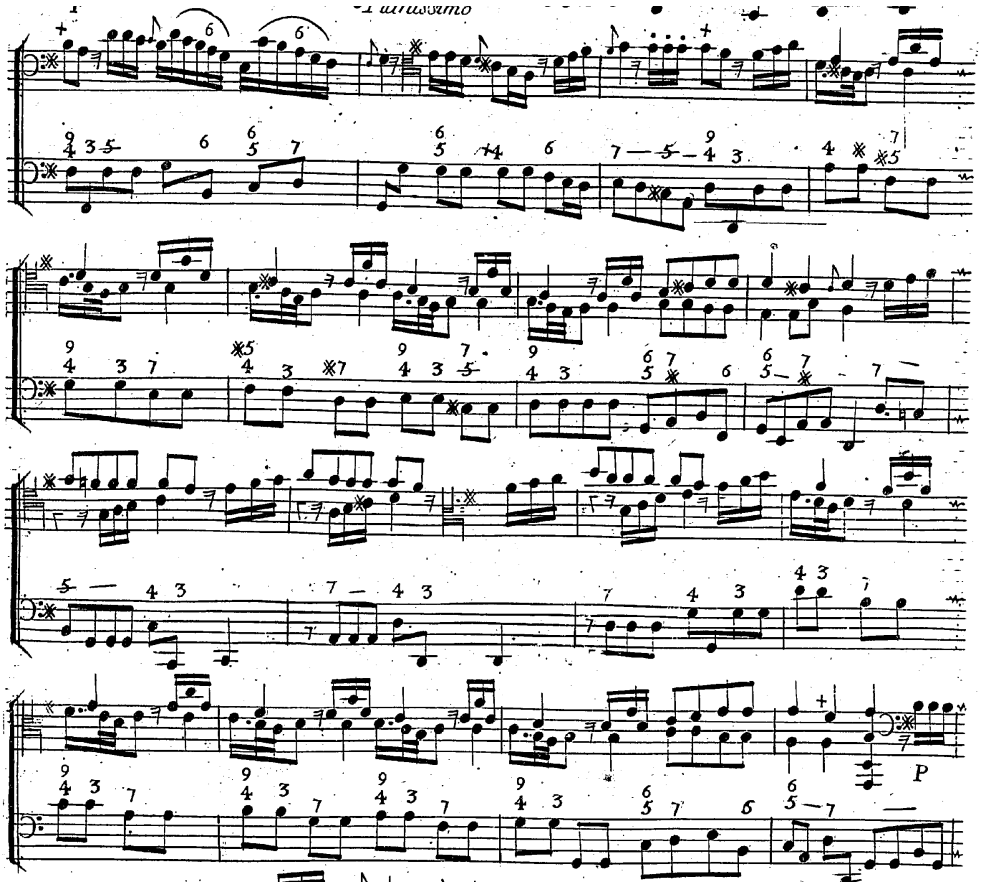
Example 4.128: Baur, Sonata VI, *Allegro,* showing the use of the polyphonic technique. The preceding and subsequent systems are provided to show the context. Location: page 23, systems 1–3.

A much more remarkable example, in the sense that it is extended over a large part of a movement, and uses the thumb positions as well as the neck positions, comes from the final movement of the same sonata (Example 4.129). (The bars requiring the thumb position are bar 9, from the alto clef, to bar 14, until the G major chord). Again, this could possibly be slurred (in the moving part), so as to avoid the need for the advanced bowing technique. This decision could also have been left to the discretion of the performer.

Chords

The above sections have focused on double stopping that involves only two strings. Now we turn our discussion to chords of three and four notes. As has been stated above, chords in the Italian cello sonatas are found only at cadence points, although they are as common there as are ordinary double stops. Such cadential chords are equally common in the French sonatas, but in addition to chords of this type, there are instances of more adventurous non-cadential uses of chords.

Martin, for example, integrates a series of three-note chords with the melodic material in the final movement of Sonata II (Example 4.130). The *Allegro* movement in Martin's Sonata V (Example 4.131) opens with a chord

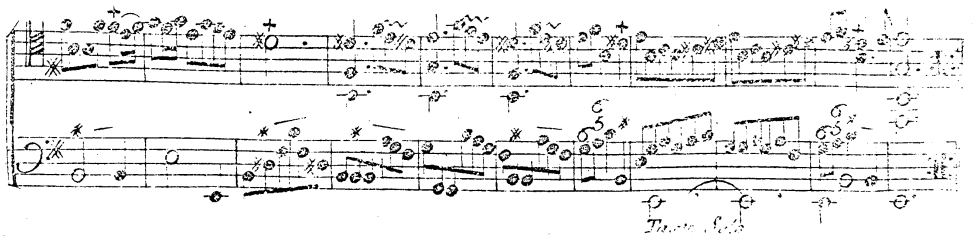


Example 4.129: Baur, Sonata VI, *Adagio*, showing the polyphonic double stopping in a variety of rhythms, and including the use of thumb position fingerings. Location: page 24, systems 2–5.

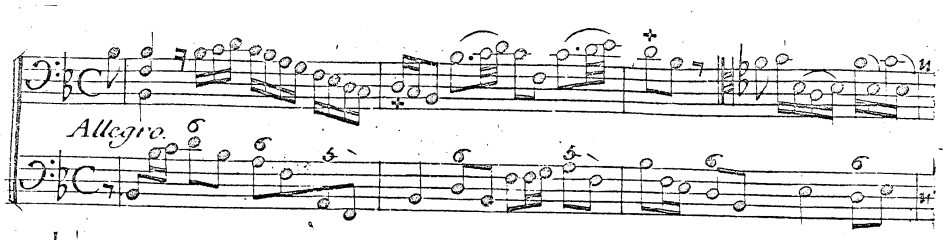
following the anacrusis, and Blainville's Sonata VI (a duo) opens with a series of chords in both the first and and second cello parts (Example 4.132). This placing of chords is more "modern", and foreshadows the instrument's idiom in the second half of the eighteenth century. The repeated chords at the close of the first movement (and, similarly, at the half-close) in Blainville's Sonata I (Example 4.133) are also more typical of the late eighteenth-century style than the mid-century sonatas, where such repeated chords are rarely found.

Both of the examples from Blainville clearly are intended to be played as a series of repeated chords, rather than arpeggiated in a pattern, which is the case with most other series of block chords, written in long notes.[52] The short

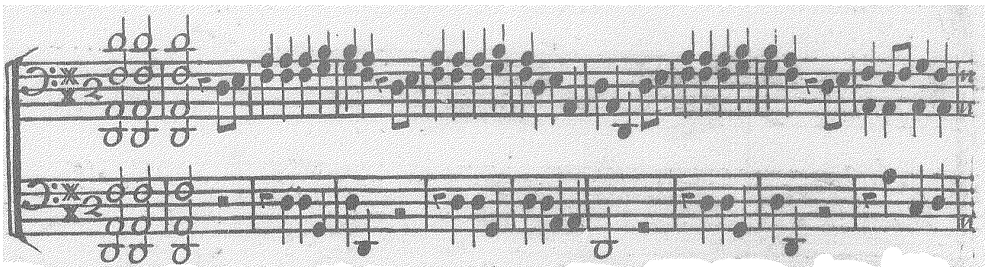
52. Throughout the eighteenth century, however, and into the nineteenth, 'block' chords were still arpeggiated, beginning on the bass note and ending on the highest string. The



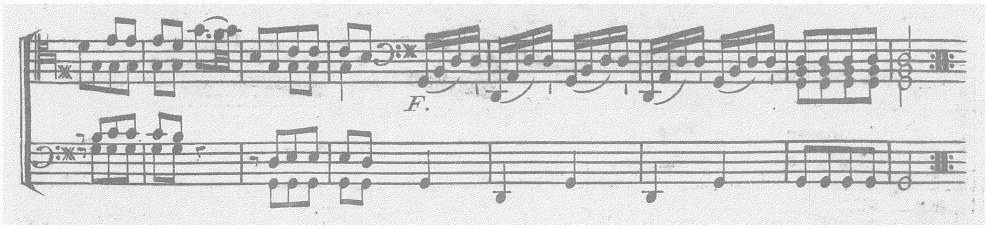
Example 4.130: Martin, Sonata II, *Allegro.* Location: page 9, system 6 (bottom system).



Example 4.131: Martin, Sonata V, *Allegro*. Location: page 22, system 1.

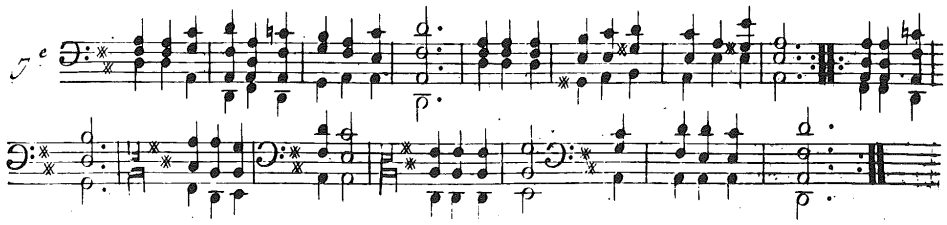


Example 4.132: Blainville, Sonata VI, opening movement [no tempo], showing the use of chords in both cello parts simultaneously.



Example 4.133: Blainville, Sonata I, *Allegro,* first movement, showing repeated chords at the conclusion of the movement. Location: page 3, final system on page.

duration of the notes in the Blainville examples, together with the musical contexts surely precludes arpeggiated patterns. A more ambiguous case, however, can be found in Berteau's Sonata II, where the final variation of the fourth movement consists entirely of chords (Example 4.134). It is unclear whether this is a notational shorthand for broken arpeggios or whether the passage is intended to be played as a succession of block chords. The relatively brisk tempo and short duration of the notes, combined with the fact that there is a mixture of three- and four-note chords (and even a two-note double-stop) seem to indicate that block chords are intended. However, there is no other instance of such a succession of chords in the French repertoire for cello from this period.



Example 4.134: Berteau, Sonata II, *Aria.* Location: page 9, systems 9–12.

Unsurprisingly, this passage has attracted some scholarly attention. Adas remarks that "in the last variation from the second sonata, the performer would have to decide whether to roll the chords or to break them up into some sort of pattern".[53] Lewis also notes that it is an ambiguous situation, and that her "instinct as a cellist" would be to arpeggiate the chords, but concludes that "this must be left to the discretion of the individual performer".[54] It could well be that multiple performance interpretations were envisaged; however, the difference in sound between block chords and arpeggiation is so vast that it seems more likely that one of these options was intended by Berteau, whichever that may be. It could of course have been intended as a show of skill for the performer; as the last variation of the finale, it was the opportunity for impact via an 'improvised' interpretation. In that sense, Berteau may have deliberately left the options open. These options could have included 'mixed' playing of block chords and arpeggiated patterns.

*

current practice of playing first the lower two, then the upper two notes of the chord in rapid succession is a more modern practice. See Walden, *One Hundred Years,* p. 179–81.

53. Adas, p. 372

54. Lewis, p. 66.

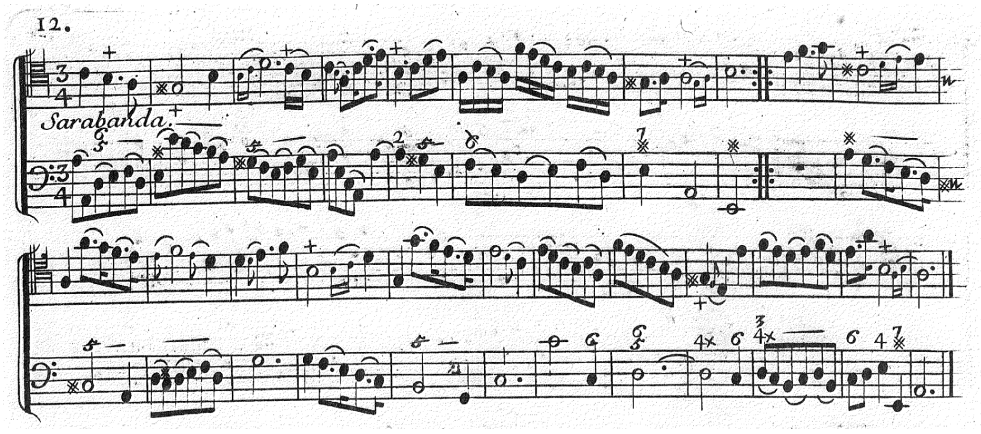
Double stopping is perhaps the most characteristic feature of the French cello sonatas from this period. Double stops are more frequent and varied than in any other body of cello repertoire. This is possibly due to the influence of the French viol school. Many movements are continuously double-stopped. The variety of double-stopped textures includes the use of drones, parallel thirds, and attempts at polyphony. While some of the double stopping is technically challenging, sonatas for the amateur market also incorporate simple double stops which make use of open strings.

4.7 Bow Strokes

Although modern-day string players place much of their attention on the technique of the left hand, in the eighteenth century, and for the French in particular at this time, it was skill with the bow that was far more important than dexterity in fingering—although, then as now, the ability to play in tune on the fretless cello fingerboard has always been of paramount importance. The use of advanced bowing in the early French cello sonatas is difficult to evaluate, since in many regards it cannot be notated. Some bow techniques, such as string-crossings, slurs and staccato can easily be notated, whereas other elements of bowing cannot be described (or prescribed) in standard western music notation, and are thus left to the skill and artistic taste of the performer. These include subtlety in phrasing, which can include the many shades of attack, tiny *crescendi* and *diminuendi*. Nor can one notate one the production of a beautiful tone, yet the myriad shades of tone colour, achieved by a delicate balance of, and constant shifts in, the weight of the arm, the speed and angle of the bow, and its distance from the bridge, are the most essential elements of the bow technique of any cellist or string player. Given the importance attached to tone in comments on French cellists, this was obviously an important issue at the time, as it is now. The same applies to bow distribution, whereby the length of successive up-bows and down-bows is co-ordinated in such a way that one is always at an optimal part of the bow, in spite of the different lengths of notes and slurs. Undoubtedly, knowledge of these non-notatable elements of bowing would shed immense light on our understanding of the development of cello technique in France at this time. However, as this information is forever lost in time, it is important to focus here on those elements of bow technique which can be, and were, notated.

The elements of bow technique which are captured in the mid eighteenth-century notation of these French cello sonatas are, generally, more tangible virtuosic techniques, including string crossings, slurs, *portato* and staccato passages. Given the importance of bowing to the French in this period, it is not surprising to find a wide range of bowing techniques notated in the

scores.[55] In general, the publications are marked with care and deliberation concerning bowing; of all the cello music published in Paris only a few, non-French sets, such as those of Somis and Chinzer, are sparsely marked as far as bowing is concerned. This care in notating articulation and bow strokes can itself be seen as an element of gallicizing the sonata repertoire. Some indication of the deliberation with which the majority of French cello sonatas from this period are marked with regard to bowing may be drawn from the *Sarabanda* from Sonata III of Masse's Op. 1 set (Example 4.135).



Example 4.135: Jean-Baptiste Masse, Op. 1, Sonata III, *Sarabanda,* showing the detailed and deliberate notation of bowing, typical of the French sonatas in this period. Location: page 12, top two systems.

At the same time, most of the advanced bow strokes used in the pre-Duport French cello repertoire are drawn from the violinistic idiom. Advanced bowing techniques found in the scores may be divided into three categories: string-crossings, slurs and staccato. Multiple techniques may be used at a time: slurred string-crossing techniques are common, and slurred staccato and *portato* bowings are also surprisingly usual in the French music of this period, especially considering that they are more often associated with nineteenth-century virtuosity.

Slurs, Portato, and Slurred Staccato

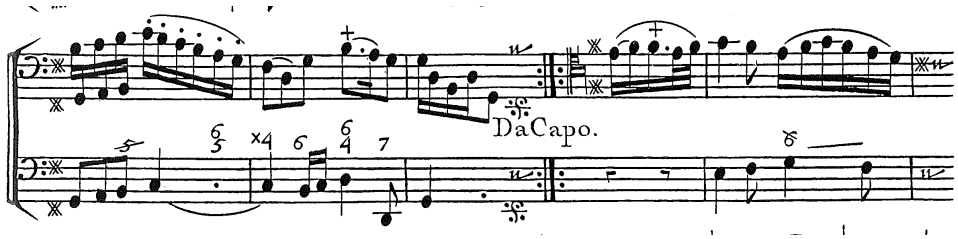
Slurs, where the cellist plays two or more notes in the same bow stroke, are an elementary technique present in all the cello sonatas published in Paris, both French and non-French. Slurs of two and three notes are so common as

55. Many more advanced bowings, along these same lines, could have been added in by performers, for then, even more than now, cellists must have felt free to change and add to the printed bowings.

to not require any further comment, being found in almost every movement of every sonata published in Paris at this time. However, they are carefully notated; in other, non-French cello sonatas issued in Parisian publications, slurs are sometimes not notated, instead being left to the performer. Slurs of up to eight notes, while less common than shorter slurs, are not unusual. Walden, speaking of wider Europe rather than France specifically, notes that "for violoncellists who used bows of pre-Tourte design, the majority of slur groupings encompassed two to four notes, with occasional groupings having as many as eight notes. Longer slur groupings were rare." [56] This applies to the cello music composed in France in this era.

Slurred staccato occurs when several articulated notes are played in one bow stroke, with the bow 'biting' the string to make the articulations. This technique, usually associated with the nineteenth-century virtuosic repertoire, is confined in the pre-Duport period to the sonatas of only two French cellists: Barrière and Masse.

A clear instance of slurred staccato can be found in Barrière's Livre I, in Sonata III (Example 4.136). In this case, the relatively brisk tempo combined with the virtuosic nature of the string crossings *(brisure)* which precede it, indicates that slurred staccato rather than *portato* is intended. A similar example in Sonata IV of the same collection occurs three times in a sequence-type passage (Example 4.137).



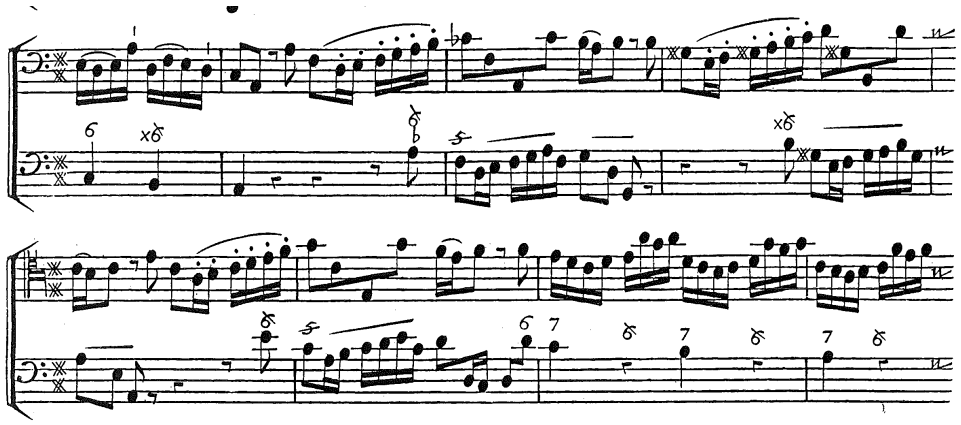
Example 4.136: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata III, *Aria gratioso,* showing slurred staccato. Location: page 18, system 4.

It could be argued that Masse's sonatas are less technically demanding than those of Barrière in terms of left-hand techniques, since they have fewer double stops and do not require the thumb position. [57] However, in terms of highly developed bowing technique they are on par with the more virtuosic of Barrière's sonatas. [58] An example of a slurred staccato run, in a slow tempo,

56. Walden, *One Hundred Years,* p. 152.

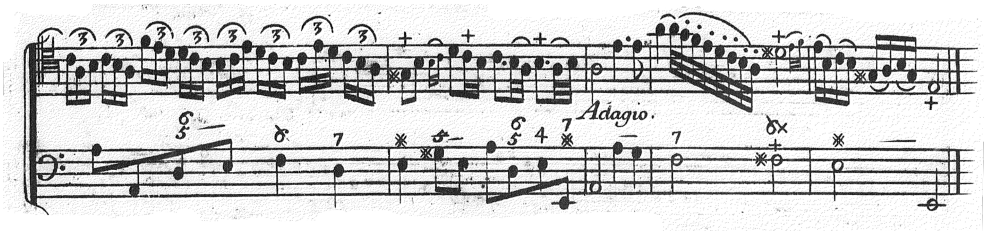
57. The exception, however, are the four double-stopped movements in Op. 2, discussed in the section on double stopping, above.

58. From a different perspective, Phillpott has commented that while Barrière's sonatas have a tendency to be overtly virtuosic, Masse's sonatas, while technically demanding, use this



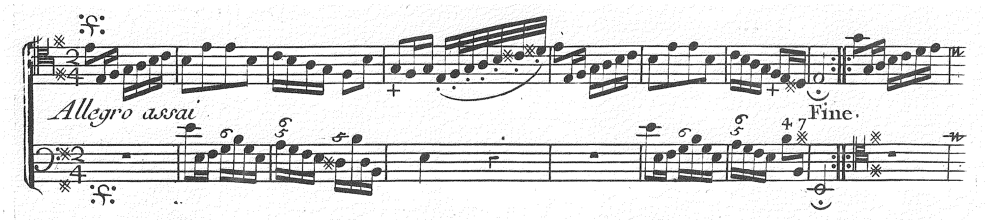
Example 4.137: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata IV, *Allemanda,* showing the use of slurred staccato. Location: page 22, systems 2–3.

is drawn from Sonata III in Op. 1 (Example 4.138). Another run in a faster tempo is found in Sonata I, Op. 2 (Example 4.139). Example 4.140 shows a quite different use of slurred staccato: rather than a rapid, isolated run as a virtuosic flourish, here a clearly defined bowing pattern is established for the sequence, including (as well as the slurred staccato) ordinary slurs and ordinary staccato. In this passage, the bowing pattern is remarkable, the compression of three different bowings into the brief motive showing a huge subtlety of effect. This emphasis on detail and finesse contrasts with the broad sweep of the Italianate style. Indeed, this clearly marked, intricate bowing is a marked feature of the French school, and in its emphasis on finely chiselled detail is typical of the French rococo.

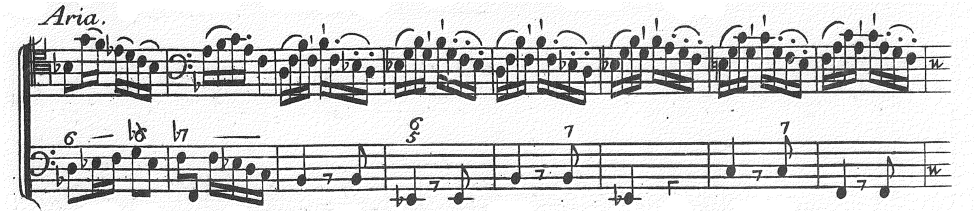


Example 4.138: Masse, Op. 1, Sonata III, *Andante,* showing a flourish using slurred staccato towards the end of the movement. Location: page 10, system 3.

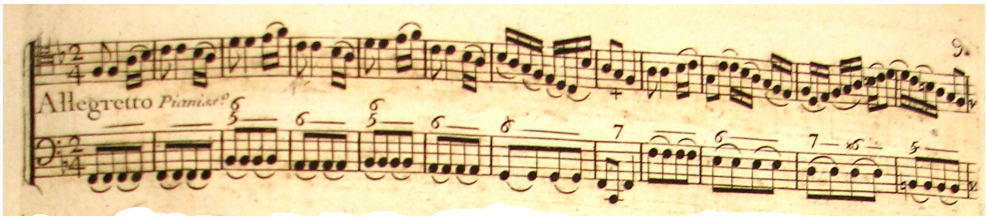
technique in the pursuit of musicality. "The technical scope of Masse's sonatas is comparable to that of Barrière's music. The primary difference is the absence of ... virtuosic fireworks in the sonatas of the former. While Masse's sonatas are certainly virtuosic and extremely difficult, the technical demands here serve a primarily musical effect in terms of texture and variety; this is in contrast to Barrière's virtuosic language, which mainly serves to cast the performer's skill in an impressive light." Phillpott, p. 97–98.



Example 4.139: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata I, *Allegro assai.* Location: page 4, system 5.



Example 4.140: Masse, Op. 1, Sonata VI, *Aria,* showing slurred staccato within a very well-defined articulation. Location: page 24, penultimate system (system 5).

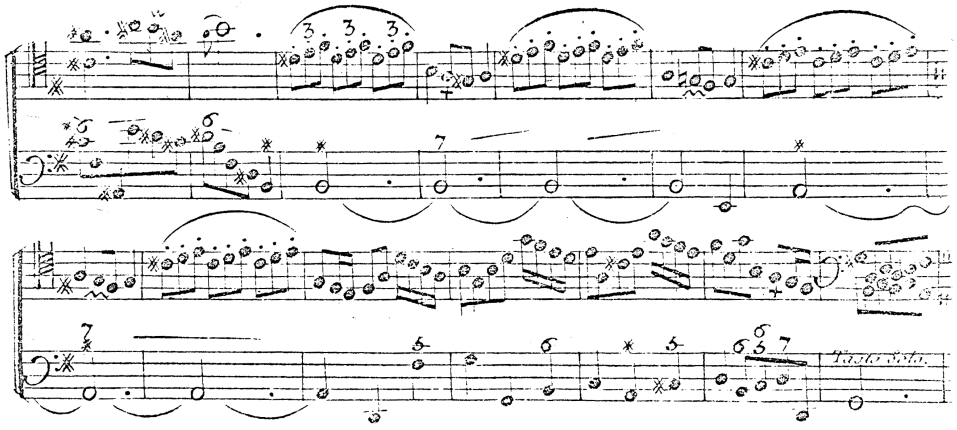


Example 4.141: Masse, Op. 5, Sonata IV, *Allegretto,* showing the use of *portato* bowings in the continuo part. These continue for most of the movement. Location: page 9, system 1.

In the final movement of Sonata II, a repeated figure, marked with slurs and staccato dots, appears four times (Example 4.142). Each time, it lasts the whole bar. In the *Allegro gigue* tempo, the bow would be simply 'flicking' the strings to create the articulations. Note that because of the number of separate notes between each instance, the slurred staccato must be performed on both the up-bow and down-bow. This is in contrast to the nineteenth-century use of the technique, where it is invariably used on the up-bow.

The technique known as *portato* contrasts with slurred staccato, in that the articulations are gentle 'pulses' rather than 'bites'. This became a common technique in the late eighteenth-century cello sonatas, especially in playing repeated notes.[59] Yet, like most of the double-stopping techniques discussed above, it originated in the early French repertoire before becoming common-

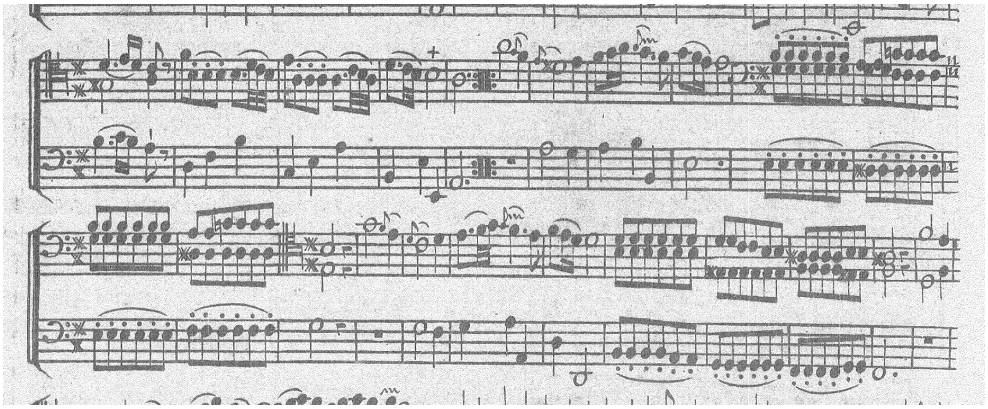
59. The gentle pulsation of repeated *portato* notes may also be described as a type of 'bow vibrato', albeit a very measured vibrato.



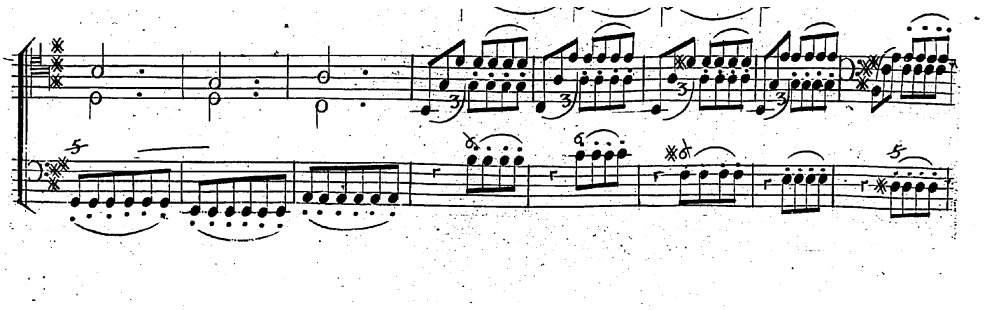
Example 4.142: Martin, Sonata II, *Allegro.* Location: page 8, systems 4–5.

place in the late eighteenth-century French school. The technique does not occur in any of the non-French sonatas published in Paris, nor is it discussed by Walden in her study of the Italian baroque repertoire. It is notated either by a wavy line above the notes, or by a slur over staccato dots. This second method of notation can cause confusion, since the same notation is used for true *portato* and for slurred staccato.

An example which occurs in both the solo and the continuo parts simultaneously, may be found in Blainville's Sonata IV (Example 4.143). In this case, the notation used is the standard (for the locale and era) use of both a slur and staccato dots. (Note also that a standard notational shorthand of the era is used, in that the bowing is only indicated for the first bar (in the solo part), but continues throughout the passage.) The *portato* bowing, on the other hand, is indicated throughout the continuo part, perhaps because a continuo player may have been less familiar with this bowing than a cellist who was used to playing virtuosic sonatas.) A similar use of *portato* bowing in both parts, as well as double stopping in the *portato* passage (as in the Blainville example) can be found in Baur's Sonata II (Example 4.144). This example is very similar to the one by Blainville, which suggests that this was a trait of the more virtuosic French sonatas from this period: both the solo and continuo cellos play with a *portato* bowing, with double-stops in the solo part. Note also that it is preceded by a passage with *portato* in the continuo part alone. A further example of this type of bowing in the continuo part occurs in Masse's Op. 5 (Example 4.141). In this case, a different notation is used to indicate the bow strokes: notes are slurred in pairs, and there are no staccato dots. Therefore, one may be certain that in this case, it is a true *portato* stroke, with its gently pulsating effect, rather than a slurred staccato, which is expected. Happily, this also fits with the musical context.



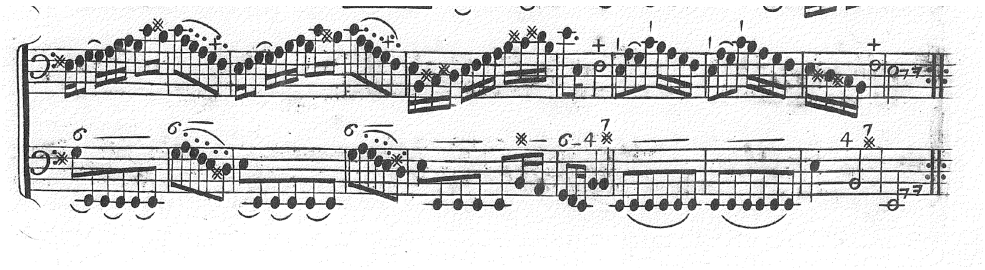
Example 4.143: Blainville, Sonata VI, *Aria gracioso*, showing *portato* bowing in both parts. It is likely the *portato* pattern continues even where not marked. Location: page 24, systems 2–3.



Example 4.144: Baur, Sonata II, *Allegretto*, showing *portato* in the continuo part, and double-stopped *portato* in the solo part. Location: page 8, system 6.

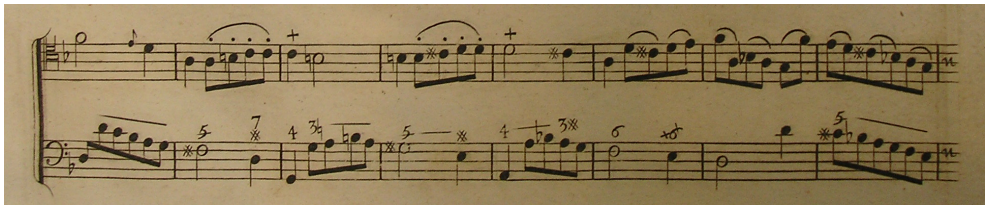
In Sonata IV of Masse's Op. 1 (Example 4.145), the two articulations (slurred staccato and *portato*) are combined in one passage. Masse uses two notations to distinguish them: slurred staccato is marked with staccato dots as well as slurs, whereas *portato* is marked with slurs alone, and no staccato dots. In this case, the slurred staccato passages are played by both the solo and the continuo cellos, in parallel thirds (another French trait), while the *portato* bowing in this case is confined to the continuo cello.

There are also several ambiguous examples, where either *portato* or slurred staccato may be used. Most likely it was a 'mixture' of the two techniques: not a 'flying' staccato, as in the more virtuosic examples of slurred staccato (and what we have come to identify slurred staccato with in the modern era); but neither a smooth, pulsing *portato*. Rather, the notes are played in the same bow-stroke, with some separation and articulation. In a sense, that is what this technique (*portato*/slurred staccato) is in this era, with the extreme cases just different manifestations of it, which became two separate



Example 4.145: Masse, Op. 1, Sonata IV, *Allegro,* showing use of slurred staccato and *portato*, with two separate notations, and in both solo and continuo parts. Location: page 15, lowermost system.

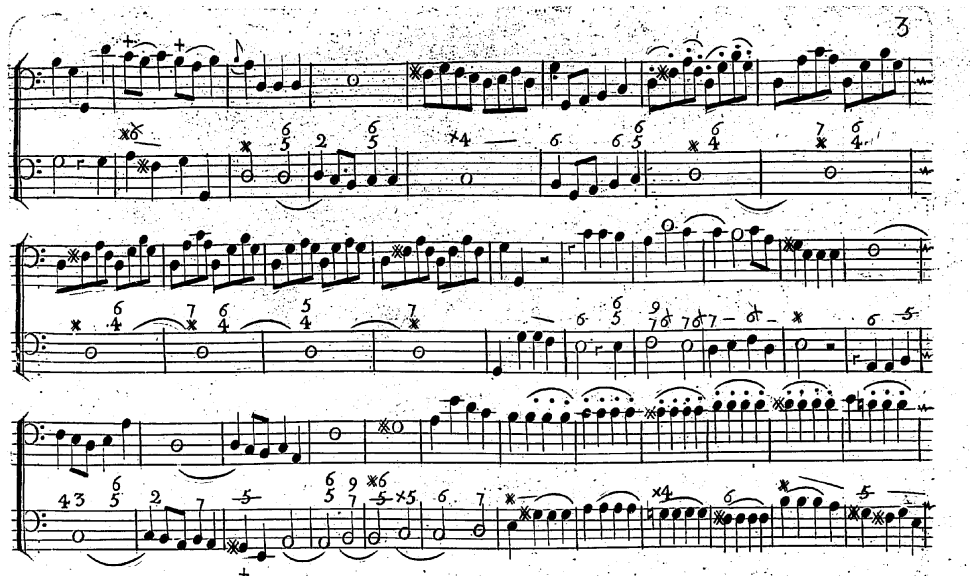
techniques in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An example of this in-between bow stroke can be found in Masse's Op. 5 (Example 4.146). It is also noteworthy that this occurs within the context of a technically simple sonata. This shows that mastery of this type of bow stroke was expected of all cellists, even those without command of other difficult techniques. A similar type of bow stroke can be found in Baur's Sonata I (Example 4.147). In contrast to the Masse example, this occurs in the context of a set of virtuosic sonatas, although the use of the technique here is not in itself virtuosic.



Example 4.146: Masse, Op. 5, Sonata I, *Aria gusto,* showing the use of *portato*/slurred staccato in the context of a technically simple sonata. Location: page 1, system 4.

String-Crossing Techniques

Along with slurs, the most obvious form of specialized bow technique notated in the scores is that of string-crossings, where the bow rapidly alternates between two or more strings, adjacent and non-adjacent. String-crossings may be divided into the following broad categories: two-string string-crossings, involving alternations between two adjacent strings; and *brisure* string-crossings, involving alternations between non-adjacent strings. There are also special types of string-crossings between adjacent strings: *batterie,* where one part is stationary, and the other is a moving part (this can also be slurred); two-parts string crossings which involve the evocation of two voices *in counterpoint* when in fact the player is alternating between these



Example 4.147: Baur, Sonata I, *Fuga–allegro,* showing paired *portato* or slurred staccato bowings. Location: page 3, systems 1-2.

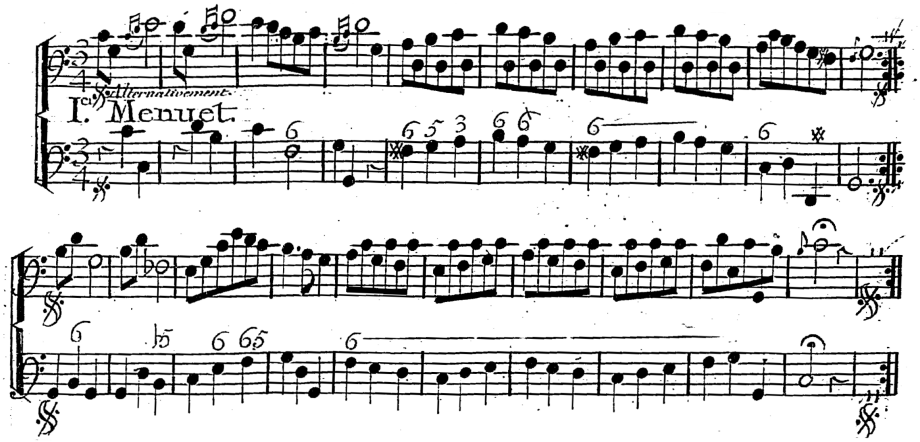
two parts, played on adjacent strings; and *bariolage,* a little-used technique which contrasts the timbre of identical pitches on adjacent strings. While these string-crossing passages are usually notated in conventional notation, occasionally a notational shorthand is used.

In addition, there are also broken arpeggios, which involve rapid oscillation between three or four strings while the left hand holds down the fingers in a chord formation. In that sense, the left hand technique is similar to that of chords, discussed in 4.6. However, the bow arm plays a variety of arpeggio patterns across the three or four strings. In the French cello repertoire, there are many examples where the composer calls for non-notated arpeggios. The usual signpost is a succession of long-duration chords (usually in minims, dotted minims or semibreves) out of context with the surrounding music. Occasionally the direction 'Arpeggio' is given, and sometimes a pattern for the required arpeggiated passage immediately precedes the succession of chords. In such a case, the instruction 'segue' is often given.

Batterie

The term *batterie* refers to the technique of alternating between adjacent strings such as to create the impression of two parts sounding at once. One string, normally the lower, re-iterates the same note, while the other plays a moving part. A classic example occurs in the first *Menuet* from Sonata II in Spourny's Op. 9 (Example 4.148) where it is clear that the moving and

stationary notes may be taken by either 'part' (compare bars 5–9 with bars 15–19 of the example). Walden notes that the term *batterie* was first applied to cello technique by Corrette. [60] She adds that "regional differences existed in the choice of strings used. French performers were especially circumspect in their inclusion of the C-string in solo music and *batteries* placed on the lower strings are rare in French music before 1815." [61]

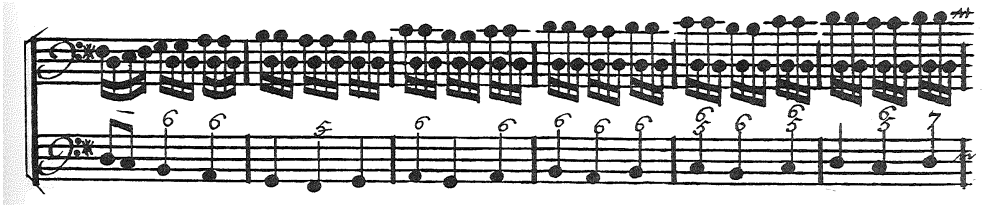


Example 4.148: Spourny, Op. 9, Sonata II, *Menuet I*, showing use of *batterie* technique. Location: page 7, systems 3–4.

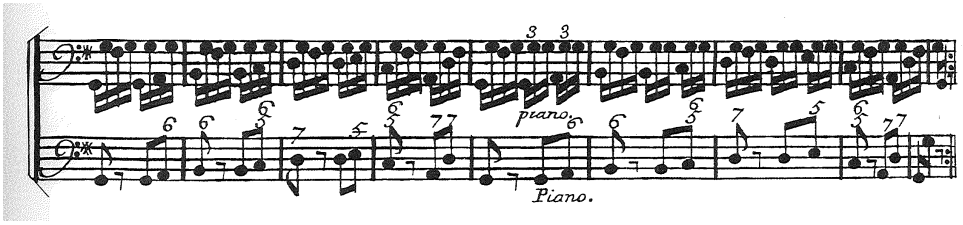
In Boismortier's Op. 26, in Sonata III (Example 4.149), just as in the Spourny example, the bow alternates between the open D-string and a moving part on the A-string. Walden has claimed that the *batteries* on the lower strings are rare in French sonatas before 1815; however, while Boismortier uses the A- and D-strings, he has *batterie* on the G-string, and on the C-string as well. In the *Allegro, ma non troppo* movement of Sonata III in Op. 26, his *batterie* passage has the moving part on the solo cello's G-string (Example 4.150). [62] In this way, Boismortier takes advantage of the cello's bass register to write innovative textures that are not possible in a sonata for solo treble instrument and continuo. In the Op. 50 collection, we discover Boismortier using *batterie* on the C-string (Example 4.151) for intensifying effect. The placement of this technique in such an unusual register serves to highlight the re-iteration of the tonic close at the end of the movement.

Batterie passages can sometimes also be slurred, adding to their virtuosity. An example of this, which is also exceptional in that it is written in the upper neck positions, is found in Masse's Op. 2 (the most virtuosic of Masse's collections) (Example 4.152). While a modern cellist may play this passage in

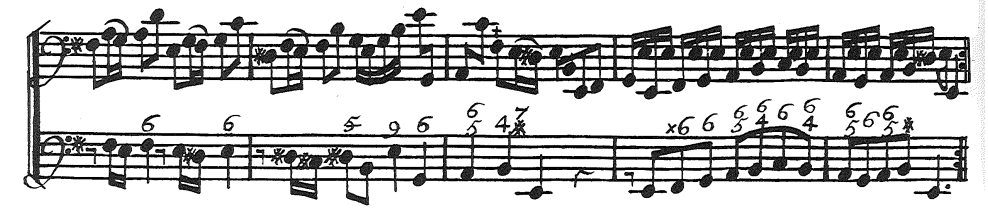
60. Walden, *One Hundred Years*, p. 158
61. ibid.
62. Here, the lower voice of the solo part in fact doubles the continuo line.



Example 4.149: Boismortier, Op. 26, Sonata III, *Corrente,* showing a classic *batterie* figuration. Location: page 9, second system.



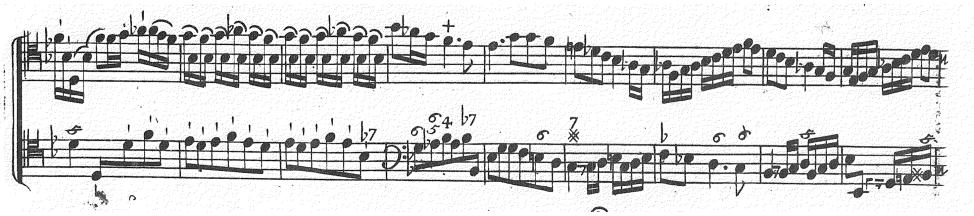
Example 4.150: Boismortier, Op. 26, Sonata III, *Allegro, ma non troppo,* showing *batterie* figuration. Location: page 7, lowermost system (system 6).



Example 4.151: Boismortier, Op. 50, Sonata I, *Allemanda*, showing *batterie* in the low register. Location: page 2, system 6 (lowest system).

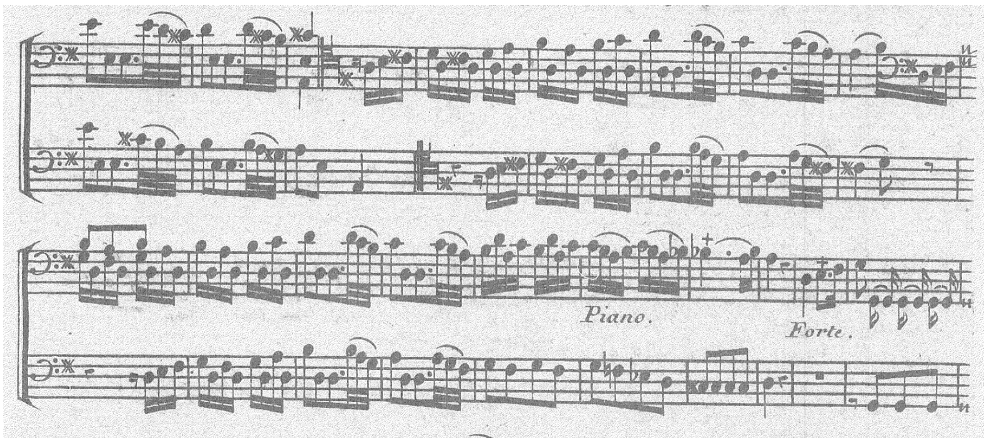
the thumb position, facilitating the fifths across the strings between the *f'* and *b♭*, and also allowing the high *b♭'* to be played in the same position, in the usual fingering patterns of the era, it would most likely have been fingered in the neck positions, with, on the A-string, the first finger on the F, the second on the G, the third on the A♭; the fourth finger could then have been used to play the B♭, even though it is not used in this position in modern playing.

An interesting variation on the use of *batterie* occurs when two cellos (either the two cellos in a duo, or the solo and continuo cellos in a sonata) both play *batterie* at the same time, normally in parallel thirds. This is perhaps unique to sonatas for the cello (in the same way that the bass-doubling *batterie* is unique to the cello, above), since it is the close range of the two parts that makes it possible. An example can be found in Blainville's Sonata I (Example 4.153). In this passage, as in many such passages in thirds, the



Example 4.152: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata II, *Allegro ma non tropo*, showing *batterie* technique in the higher neck positions. Location: page 7, system 5.

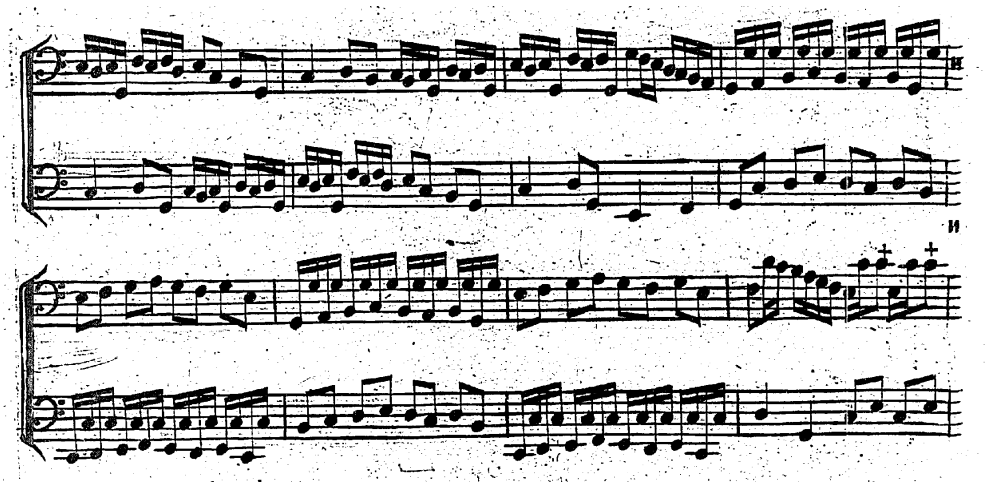
second cello enters a few beats after the first, in imitation of it. A different way of incorporating two cellos both playing *batterie* occurs in Spourny's Op. 14, in Sonata IV (Example 4.154). Here, the two cellos (for this is a duo) play *batterie* figuration in alternative bars against a simplified harmonic filler. Notwithstanding Walden's suggestion that the *batterie* passages on the lower strings were "rare in French cello music before 1815", in this passage Spourny makes full and effective use of the G- and C- strings, just as Boismortier did in the examples above. [63]



Example 4.153: Blainville, Sonata I, *Allegro,* showing two cellos in thirds *batterie.* Location: page 3, systems 3–4.

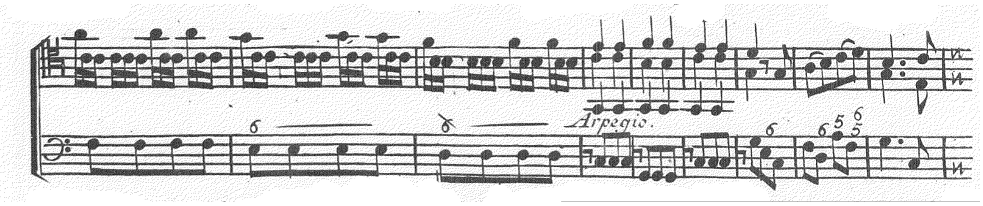
A few other examples make use of the *batterie* figuration, but in a modified manner. In Sonata I, Patouart uses a triplet formation, and many repeated notes in the lower voice, but the two-voice string crossing which is the core of the *batterie* figuration is still present (Example 4.155). Another, perhaps more significant variation on the *batterie* technique occurs when, instead of a string-crossing figuration, the whole passage is played on one string (normally the A-string). This we may term *faux-batterie.* In such cases, it is the upper voice

63. See Walden, *One Hundred Years,* p. 159.



Example 4.154: Spourny, Op. 14, Sonata IV, *Allegro* (first movement), showing *batterie* in the low register, traded between the two cellos. Location: page 15, systems 4–5.

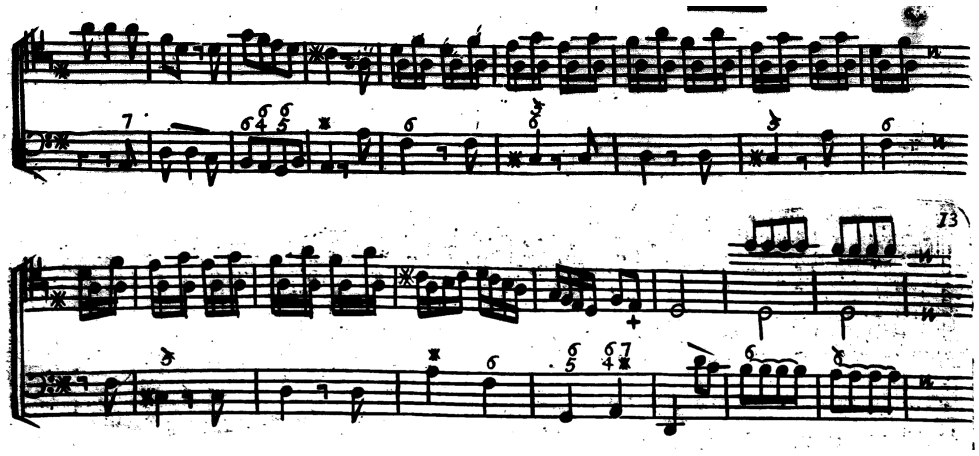
which has the moving part, while the lower voice is the static open string. Aurally, the impression is the same as a *batterie* passage (though normally in a higher register), while visually, the effect is different for the audience, since there is no string-crossing involved. In terms of technique, the passage is no more difficult to play than a standard *batterie* passage. One such passage occurs in Patouart's Sonata IV (Example 4.156). In this case, rather than the moving part being purely stepwise, the passage approaches in some ways a broken-chord figuration. While most of the examples discussed so far have had 1–1 ratios between the two parts, with the second part (whether it is the upper or lower voice) remaining basically static, an example in Baur's Sonata IV combines *batterie* technique with ordinary figuration in the lower voice (Example 4.157).



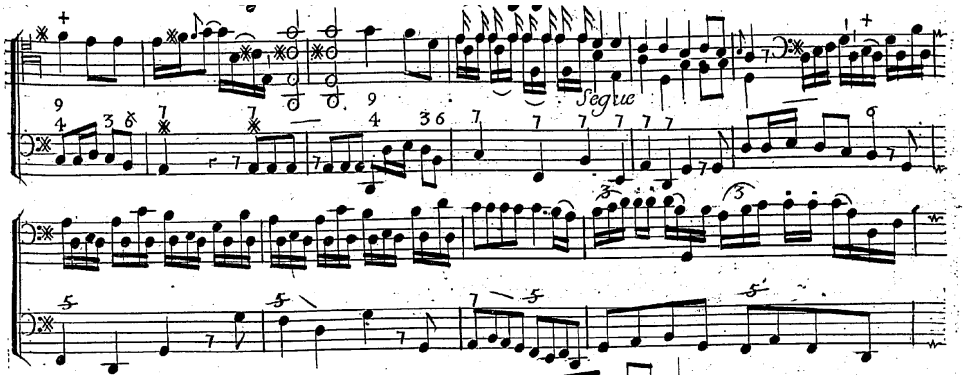
Example 4.155: Patouart, Sonata I, *Presto,* Location: page 2, system 6 (penultimate).

Brisure

The technique of *brisure* is similar to *batterie,* except that instead of using adjacent strings, the bow must jump between non-adjacent strings. This

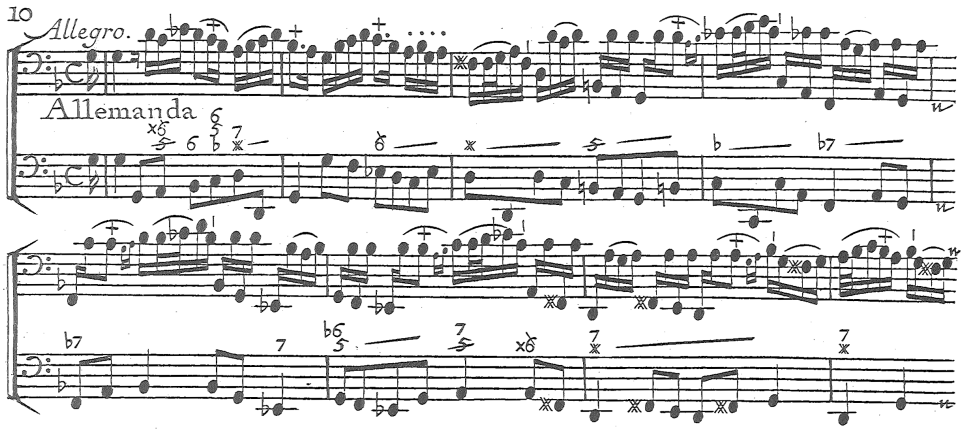


Example 4.156: Patouart, Sonata IV, *Presto.* Location: page 12, final system (system 7) and page 13, system 1.

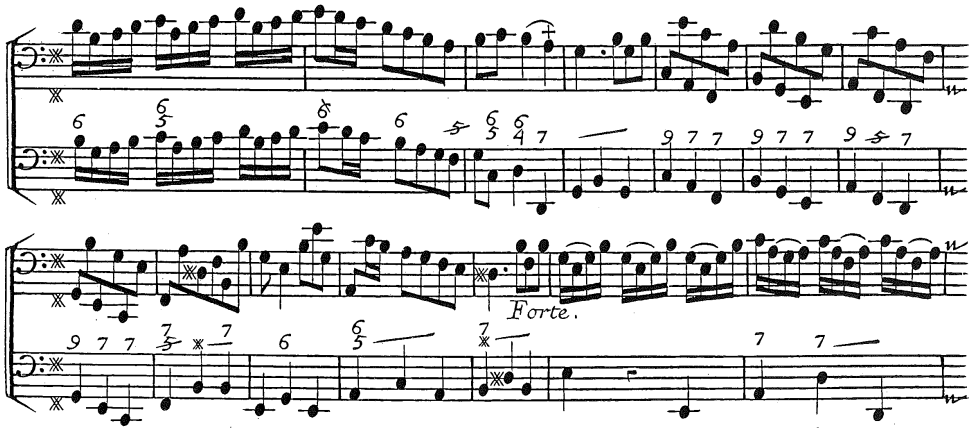


Example 4.157: Baur, Sonata IV, *Allegro.* Location: page 23, systems 5–6.

affords a wider range between the two parts, and also allows the low and high registers to be used at the same time. *Brisure* is especially effective on the cello, as compared to the violin, since it allows the bass register to be incorporated without writing melodic material that is too 'growly'. An example of this can be found in Barrière's Livre I, Sonata II (Example 4.158). Here, bass notes on the G- and C-strings, which double the continuo bass as in some of the *batterie* examples above, contrast with alternate notes played on the A-string. A similar passage is found in Sonata III of the same collection, again with the lower voice of the solo cello's part doubling the continuo (Example 4.159). However, the lower *brisure* part does not necessarily have to double the continuo part strictly. In a further example from the same sonata (Example 4.160), the lower voice has elements in common with the continuo, sometimes doubling its notes, but always remaining an independent part.



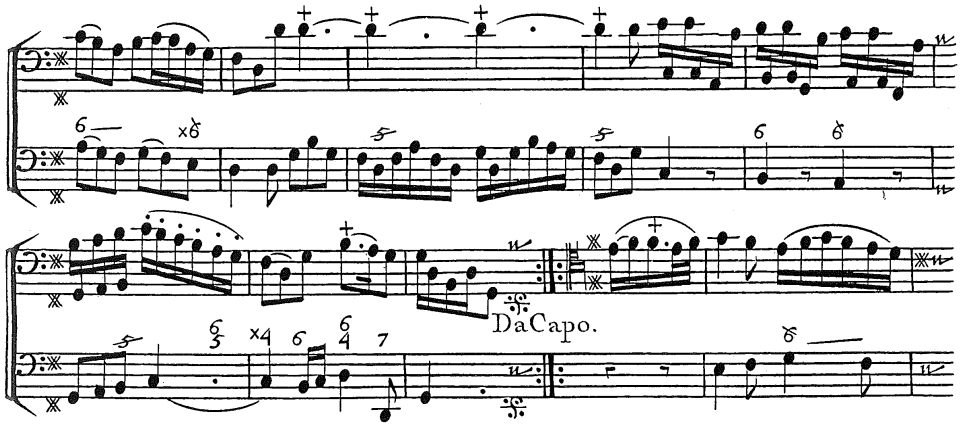
Example 4.158: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata II, *Allemanda*, Location: page 10, systems 1–2.



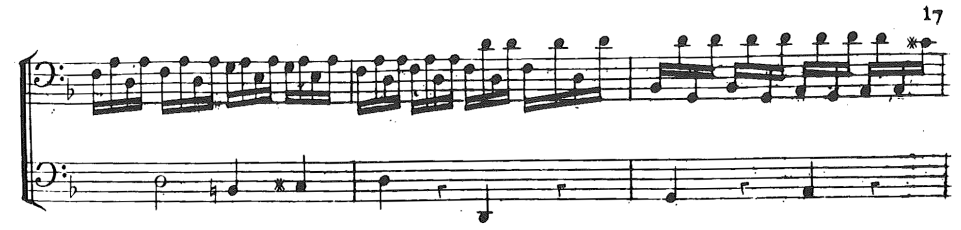
Example 4.159: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata III, *Allegro,* Location: page 15, systems 4–5.

A similar independence from the continuo part can be found in *brisure* passages in Berteau's Sonata IV (Examples 4.161 and 4.162). In the first example, the 'bass' of the solo voice is much more active than the true continuo bass; in the second example, it actually moves in contrary motion to it, sometimes going below the continuo bass part.

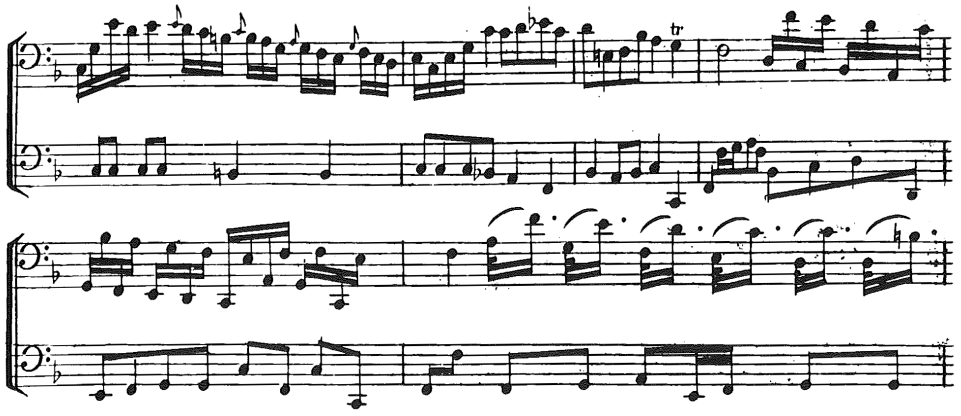
Two examples from the Masse sonatas, both from the virtuosic Op. 2 collection, deserve comment. In Sonata II of this collection, the lower notes of the *brisure* passage follow the continuo bass, but one quaver later, resulting in an interesting dialogue between the solo cello and the continuo (Example 4.163). In Sonata III of the same collection, Masse uses *brisure* in a triplet configuration (Example 4.164). (The relevant passage is in bars 12–14 of



Example 4.160: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata III, *Aria gratioso,* Location: page 18, systems 3–4.

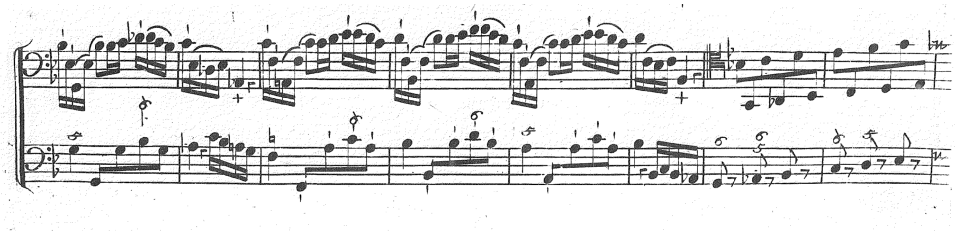


Example 4.161: Berteau, Sonata IV, *Allegro ma non troppo.* Location: 1771 edition, page 17, system 1.

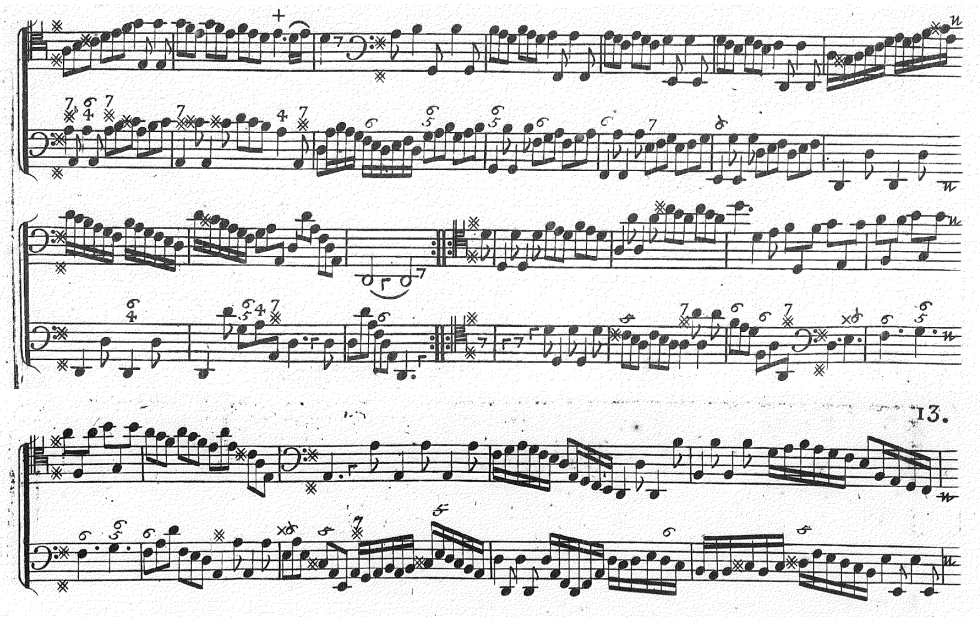


Example 4.162: Berteau, Sonata IV, *Allegro ma non troppo.* Location: 1771 edition, page 17, systems 4–5.

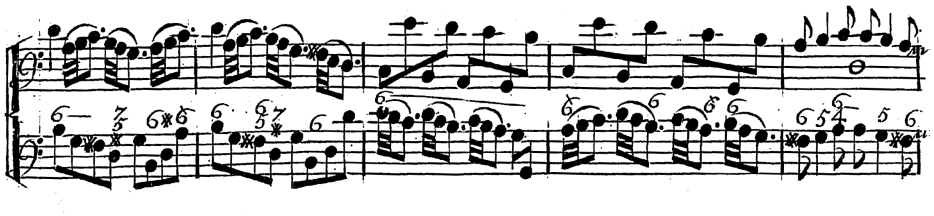
the extract; the wider context is given to show that the passage occurs in a movement where string-crossing leaps are part of the overall texture). As in the example above, the lower notes of the *brisure* follow the bass line, although because it is a triplet figure, the upper notes are repeated afterwards. Unlike the other *brisure* passages discussed above, that make use of the cello's lowest register, these two Masse examples are placed in the higher neck positions. The final example to be discussed is found in Spourny's Op. 9 set, in Sonata II (Example 4.165). In this case, the *brisure* technique is standard, but what is interesting is that instead of being accompanied by a bass line that reinforces its lower voice, in this case the *brisure* passage itself accompanies melodic material in the second cello part.



Example 4.163: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata II, *Allegro ma non tropo*, Location: page 6, final system (system 6).



Example 4.164: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata III, *Porteglionne—Giga allegro staccato simpre.* Location: page 12, systems 5–6 and page 13, system 1.



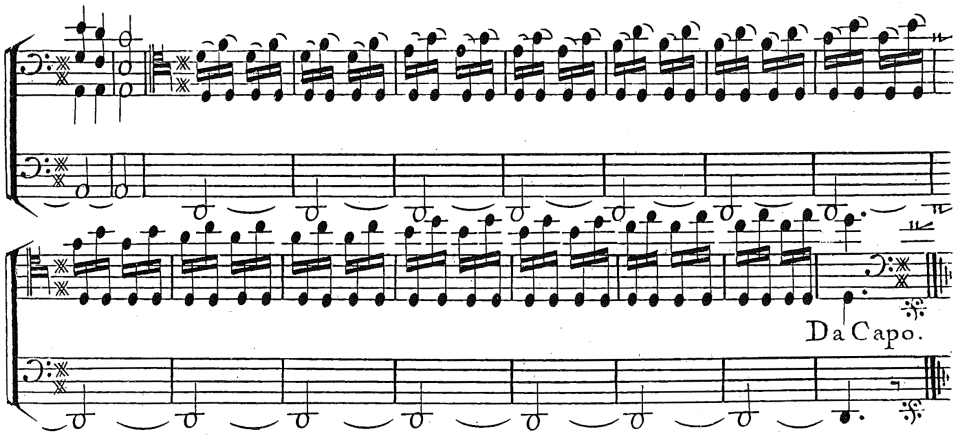
Example 4.165: Spourny, Op. 9, Sonata II, *Allegro,* Location: page 4, system 2.

Above, we discussed the concept of *faux-batterie,* where a passage sounds like *batterie,* although because the whole passage is played on one string, it is neither a string-crossing nor a *batterie* technique. The same principle can also be applied to *brisure:* a passage may be played either on one string, or across two, but because of the wide gap in pitch between the voices, it still sounds to the ear like a *brisure* passage. Walden associates this technique with the nineteenth century, claiming that "nineteenth-century violoncellists developed another idiom featuring large intervals which is not true *brisure,* but gives a *brisure*-like effect. The player traverses the length of an individual string, alternating stopped notes with the same open string or a neighboring one." [64] However, it actually originated originated in the early French cello sonatas. In these sonatas, the *faux-brisure* passages which traverse one string all involve the use of natural harmonics.

In addition to such passages which traverse an entire string into its upper positions, another type of *faux-brisure* is in fact *batterie* which sounds like *brisure* because of the wide leaps between the high and low voices. One such example can be found in Barrière's Sonata I in Livre I (Example 4.166). Here, the passage is in fact an ordinary *batterie* passage, with the bow alternating between the open D-string and notes on the A-string. However, because the pitches on the A-string are so high, the aural effect is like that of a *brisure* passage. On the other hand, the *visual* effect, much overlooked in discussions and analysis of cello virtuosity, is far more impressive than an ordinary *batterie* or even *brisure* passage, since in addition to the bow oscillating rapidly between strings, the left hand ascends to what must have been close to the end of the fingerboard at the time. [65]

64. Walden, *One Hundred Years,* p. 162

65. Although it is accepted that the fingerboard lengthened in the course of the eighteenth century, in response to the demand for increased range, it is impossible to determine how long fingerboards were at any given date. Most likely this varied from locality to locality, and almost certainly also from instrument to instrument. However, the general point to consider is that fingerboards would not have been made any longer than needed. So if a given note, say the harmonic *e''*, is the standard high point in a body of repertoire, it is reasonable to believe that this was probably also the end of the fingerboard. The fact that most fingerboards on present-day 'baroque' cellos reach to the *a''*, two octaves above the open string, is not an



Example 4.166: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata I, *Allegro,* showing a *batterie* figuration in an extreme range. Location: page 7, last two systems on page.

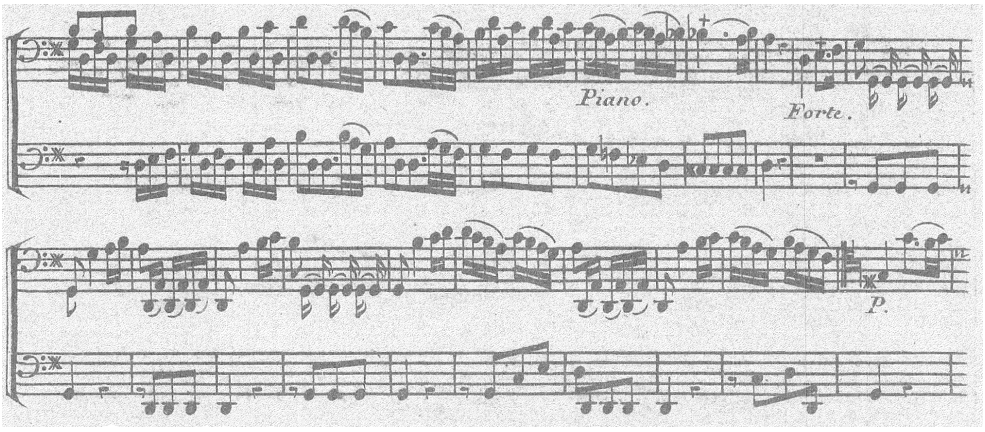
Bariolage

Like *batterie* and *brisure, bariolage* is a string-crossing technique. Unlike the techniques previously discussed, however, it does not produce a contrast of two voices or two registers; rather, it plays on the contrasting timbres of the different strings when the same pitch is played on different strings. Walden notes that, like *brisure,* it was "more favoured in the the eighteenth century than in the nineteenth".[66] She adds that "French violoncellists were especially organized in constructing bowing patterns for virtuoso display and were adept at the use of *bariolage*".[67] Although the examples she cites are from the late eighteenth-century school (she cites examples from J.-P. Duport, Bréval, and Janson), once again, the technique first appears in the French repertoire of the first half of the eighteenth century. That is not to say that it was an invention of the French, however; indeed, the most well-known example, which precedes any of the French examples, comes from the prelude to J. S. Bach's sixth cello suite (BWV 1012).

Bariolage passages are confined to virtuosic sonatas: those by Blainville, Patouart and Masse (only Op. 2). An interesting *bariolage* passage is found in the third movement of Blainville's Sonata I (Example 4.168). In this case, *bariolage* figuration on the G-string, then on the D-string, contrasts with

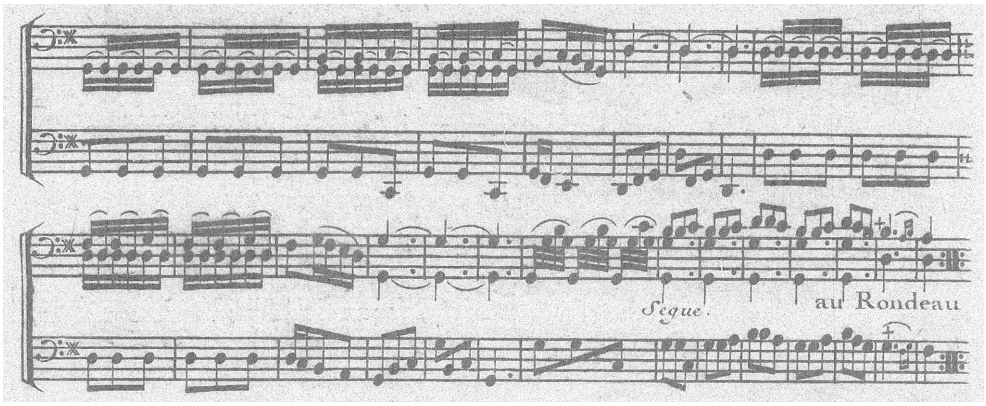
indication that this was uniformly the case in the first half of the eighteenth century. Almost certainly shorter fingerboards would have been the norm, at least until the use of the higher thumb positions was incorporated into the standard technique and repertoire.

66. Walden, *One Hundred Years,* p. 162
67. Walden, *One Hundred Years,* p. 163



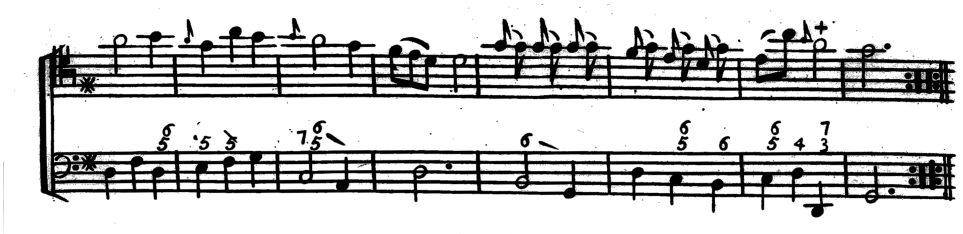
Example 4.167: Blainville, Sonata I, *Allegro,* showing the use of the low register in an experimental passage that includes the bariolage technique. Location: page 3, systems 4–5.

double stopping in the same low register. In direct contrast to this, Patouart uses *bariolage* in a passage in the thumb position (Example 4.169). Here, the thumb stays on the note g' on the A-string, while the third finger (or the third and second fingers, depending on the player's preference) plays the other g' and then the f' on the D-string.



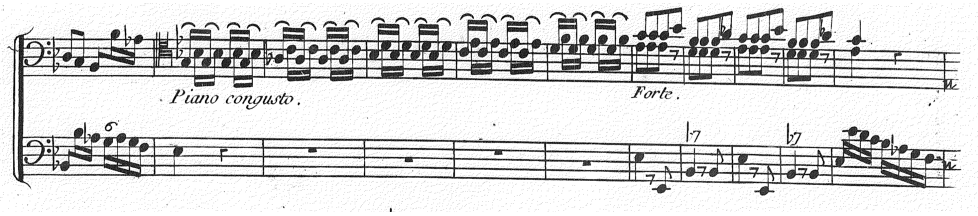
Example 4.168: Blainville, Sonata I, *Rondo–Allegretto,* showing *bariolage* passages. Location: page 5, systems 3–4.

One example which does not play on the contrasting timbre of a pitch repeated on different strings, but rather of different pitches on different strings, is drawn from Sonata II in Masse's Op. 2. (Example 4.170). The direction of the stems has been used by the engraver to indicate that the passage should be played across two strings (the notes with stems up are played on the D-string, while the notes with stems down are played on the



Example 4.169: Patouart, Sonata IV, *Minuetto,* showing the use of thumb-position bariolage. Location: page 14, system 2.

A-string), since this would otherwise not be clear from the context (unlike in the majority of *batterie* examples).The fingering of this passage is awkward once it moves into the upper neck positions (bar 6 of extract) and then the double stops. While most modern-day cellists would probably use the thumb and second finger, cellists of the mid-eighteenth century may have preferred to use the first and fourth fingers to play the passage, rather than involving the thumb (thumb technique is not strictly necessary anywhere in the Masse sonatas).



Example 4.170: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata II, *Allegro assai,* showing the stemmed notation to indicate the passage is to be played across two strings. Location: page 9, system 3.

Arpeggios and Ondeggiando

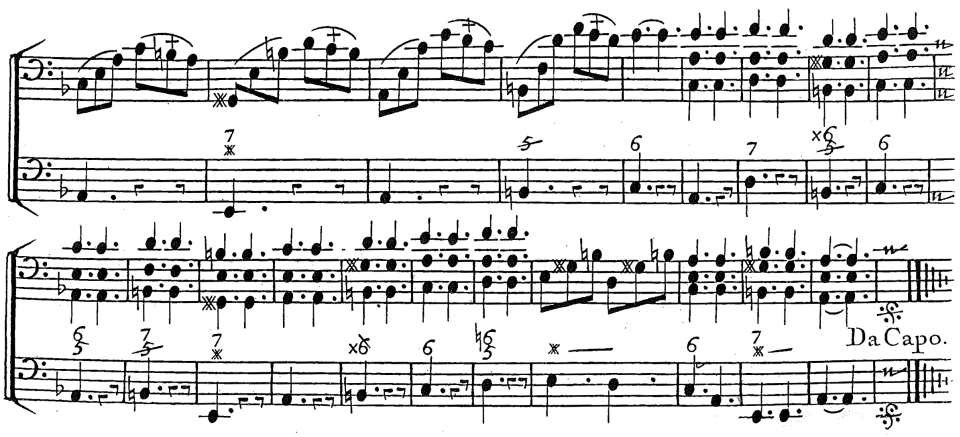
The string-crossing techniques discussed above have, by and large, involved alternations between two strings.[68] There are also two string-crossing techniques that have the use of three or four strings as an inherent part of their nature: arpeggios, and *ondeggiando.* In many ways they are very closely related, and even overlap, although they can differ in notation and complexity.

Arpeggios in this repertoire are usually notated as block chords which are to be arpeggiated by the performer. In some cases, the word 'arpeggio'

68. Where more than two strings have been involved, this has been to extend the range of the passage, rather than because the use of many strings is an inherent part of the technique; i.e. a *batterie* passage may use three strings because it extends over a larger range, but only two are used at any one time.

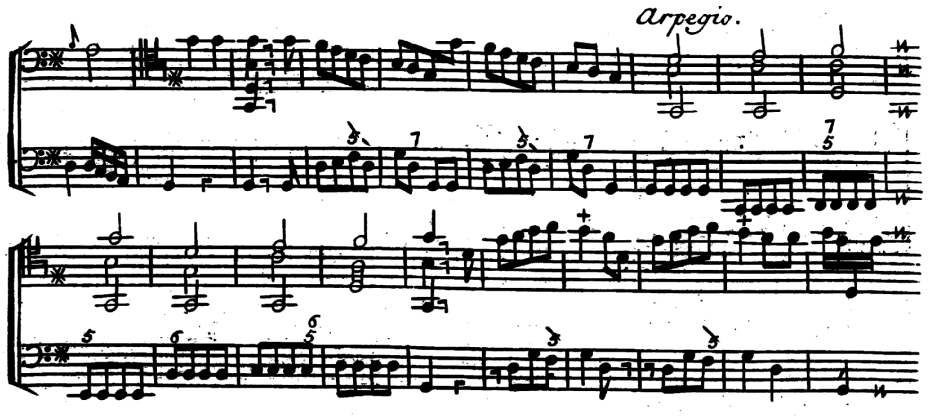
appears at the beginning of the chord succession in order to establish that the chords are indeed to be arpeggiated. In other cases, the first bar is written out in full, indicating the desired arpeggiation pattern. The most basic pattern is an ascending-descending pattern, but other, more elaborate patterns are also notated. These patterns may also be used as a guide to interpretation for those cases (the majority) where no arpeggiation pattern is given. For that reason, all the cases where patterns are given are discussed here.

An example of basic arpeggios, with no pattern provided, occurs in Barrière's Sonata V in Livre I (Example 4.171). Although it appears that a pattern is established, the 'arpeggios' in the first four bars of the extract include passing notes, so are not strictly across the strings. The notated bar in the second line (bar 17 of the extract), similarly, is played across two strings only, and is notated because it is not an 'across the strings' arpeggio. This confirms that the notated 'block' chords are indeed meant to be arpeggiated 'simply', across the strings. As soon as the bowing pattern deviates from that (because of passing notes, or because only two strings are used), the music is fully notated for the sake of clarity. A simpler example is found in Patouart's Sonata IV (Example 4.172).



Example 4.171: Barrière, Livre I, Sonata V, *Allegro,* Location: page 31, systems 5–6 (lowermost two systems).

Before proceeding to discuss the examples where a specified pattern is provided, it is necessary to mention one unusual case of arpeggios. In Martin's Sonata IV, a series of apparently unplayable chords is found (Example 4.173). Compounding the issue is the fact that the passage is marked *Menton,* the French for 'chin'. Adas has commented on this passage, noting that it "at first glance appears impossible to play". Seemingly unaware that the chords are to be arpeggiated, she suggests that "one might be tempted to give the



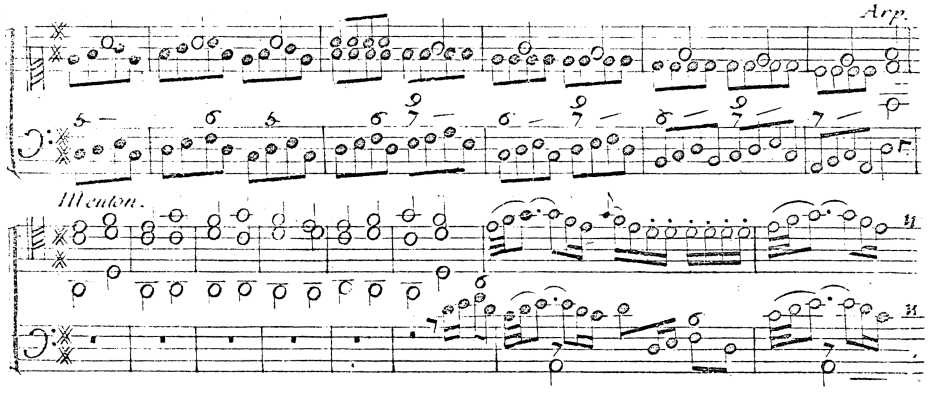
Example 4.172: Patouart, Sonata IV, *Presto.* Location: page 13, systems 3–4.

bottom note to the continuo cellist since he is tacit for the passage", before concluding that "by leaning the side of one's chin on the neck of the cello (a baroque cello—it might not work on a modern end-pinned steel-stringed cello), the passage becomes negotiable. This is a rare example of the chin-stop on the 18th-century cello."[69] The passage can indeed be played in this manner. At the beginning of the arpeggio passage, the thumb is on the *e'* on the A-string and the *a* on the D-string. The upper two notes of these arpeggiated chords can be played with the hand remaining in this position. The *d* in the second chord of the second line in the extract can also be played with the thumb; the low *A*s, then, can be stopped with the chin. It is a unique passage that does not occur anywhere else in the French cello repertoire of this period. A more orthodox solution is also possible: the low *A*s can be played with the first finger on the C-string, with the bow then skipping over the (unused) G-string, and playing the top two notes on the A- and D-strings. However, the fact that the word *Menton* has been engraved on the score must indicate that this was the preferred option.

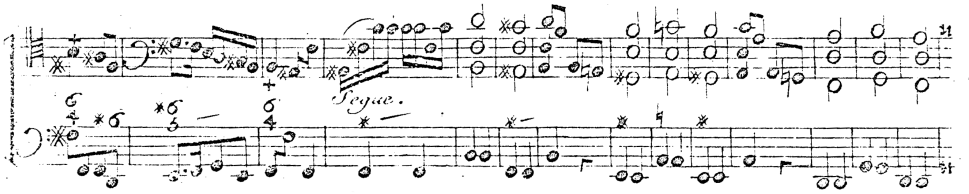
The rest of the examples discussed here are those where a pattern for arpeggiating the chords is indicated. Such an example is found in Martin's Sonata II (Example 4.174). The pattern is in the two bars (7 and 11 of the extract) where 'normal' playing resumes. A different, more elaborate pattern is found in Sonata II of the same collection (Example 4.175). In this case, the pattern is for three-string chords; performers must find their own solution for the four-note chord in bar 7 of the extract.

The examples discussed so far have involved arpeggios across the strings, where each note of the chord is played on a different string. Indeed, we have even seen that where the chord is not spread across the strings in this

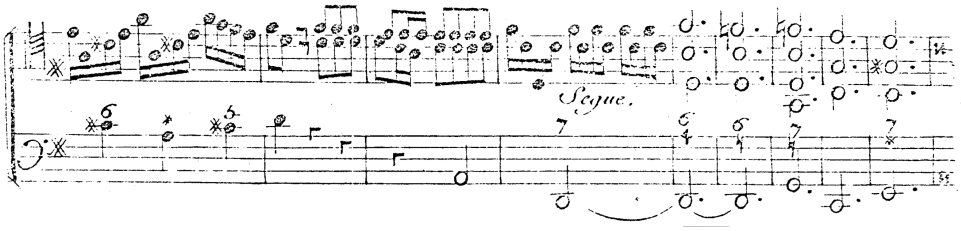
69. Adas, p. 375.



Example 4.173: Martin, Sonata IV, *Allegro.* Location: page 15, systems 3–4.

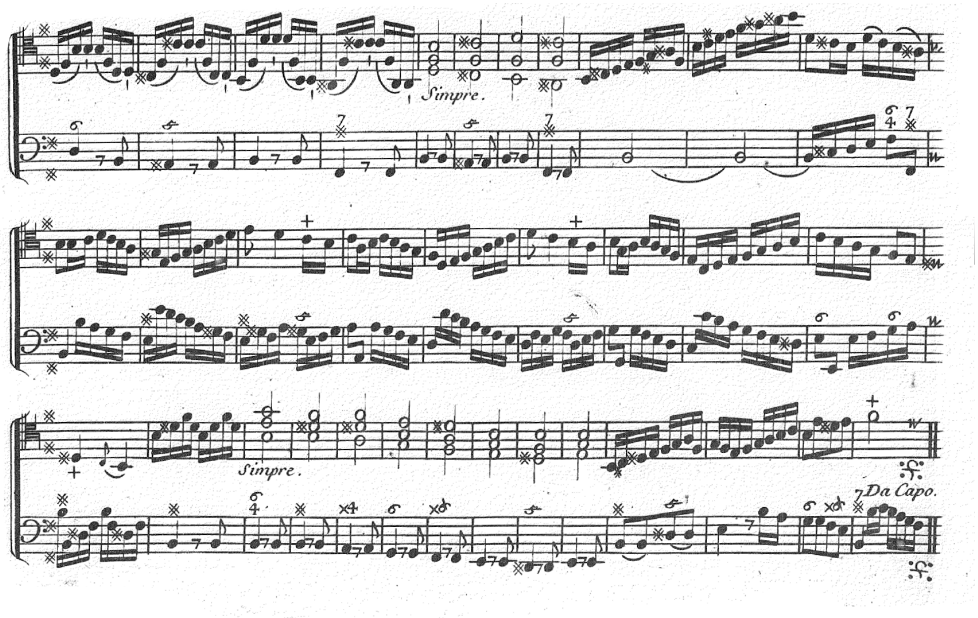


Example 4.174: Martin, Sonata II, *Allegro,* Location: page 5, system 3.



Example 4.175: Martin, Sonata II, *Allegro,* Location: page 9, system 2.

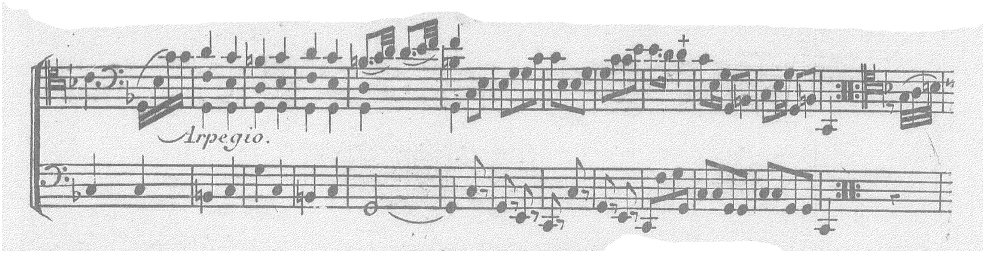
manner, Barrière changes from shorthand to standard notation to indicate this (Example 4.171). In one example found in Masse's Op. 2, however, there is a series of broken arpeggios which are all played across two strings (Example 4.176, bars 22–30 of extract). As in the examples discussed above, Masse provides the pattern in the initial bar (bar 22 of extract). Note that in the initial bars of this example (bars 1–8), there is another example of arpeggios. In this series, bars 1 and 5 are also played across two strings. Note also that bars 5–8 are an exact repeat of bars 1–4; the entire sequence is written out before the engraver changes to shorthand. A similar pattern to this one, in that it combines slurs and separate notes, occurs in Blainville's Sonata III (Example 4.177). Another slurred pattern, a little longer and more complicated than the Blainville example, is found in Baur's Sonata V (Example 4.178). Unlike the two examples discussed above, this one is played across three strings. However, it is noteworthy that it descends freely to use the C-string. This is an observable trait of the French sonatas of this era, which falls out of use after 1760, when greater use is instead made of the upper registers.



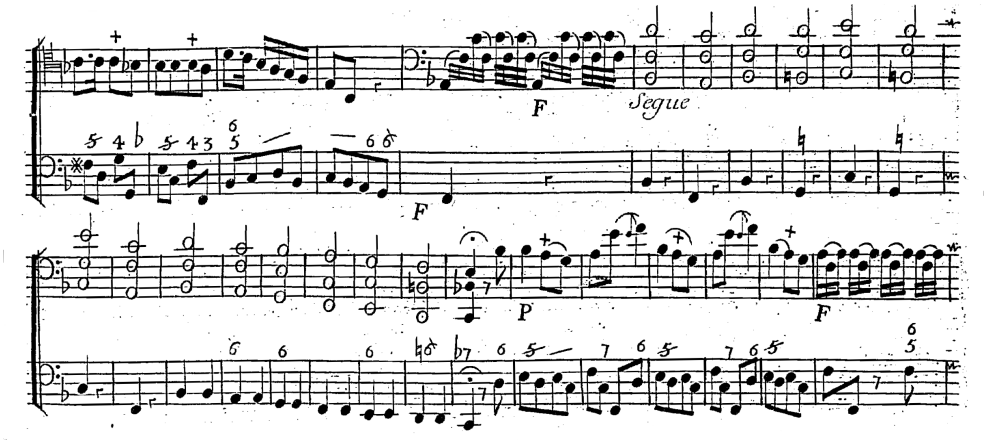
Example 4.176: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata I, *Allegro assai*, Location: page 5, systems 4–6 (bottom three systems).

Only once in his set of sonatas does Berteau provide any pattern.[70] This occurs in the first movement of Sonata III (Example 4.179). In this case, there

70. There are two other instances where Berteau writes block chords. One, mentioned above, consists of block chords to be arpeggiated, although no pattern is given. The other is the ambiguous final variation in Sonata II.



Example 4.177: Blainville, Sonata III, *Allegro.* Location: page 10, system 4.

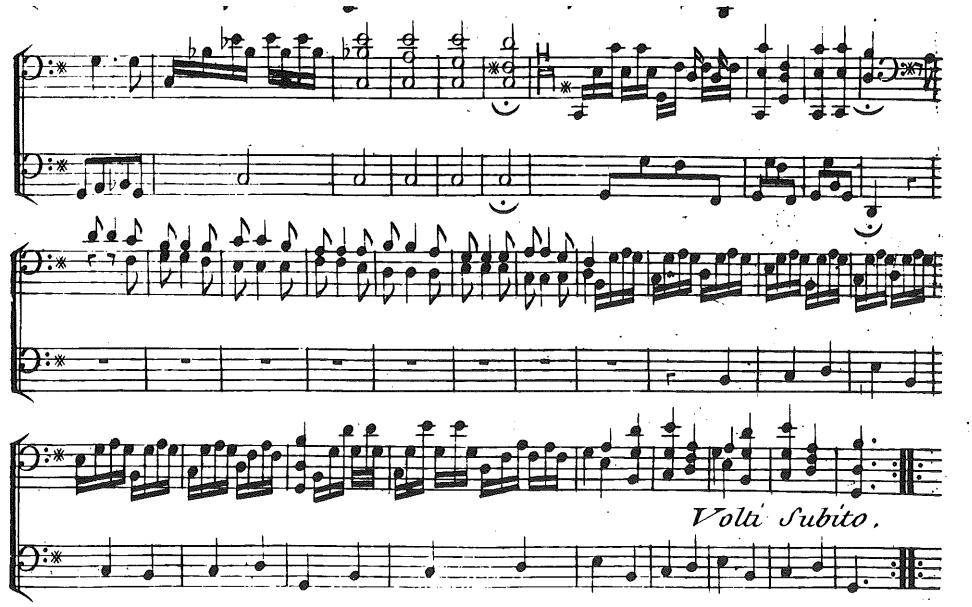


Example 4.178: Baur, Sonata V, *Battuë de Lievres dans la plaine de Chailly, Andante poco allegro.* Location: page 19, systems 3–4.

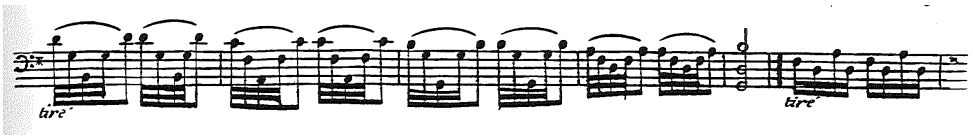
are in fact three patterns. The first, a simple semiquaver pattern without slurring, is used for the first five bars of the arpeggio passage, whereupon it is replaced with a triplet pattern which also places the pitches in non-ascending order (bars 7–9 of extract). After a brief, unaccompanied double-stopped passage, the semiquaver pattern returns, fully notated until the final five bars, where shorthand is again used.

*

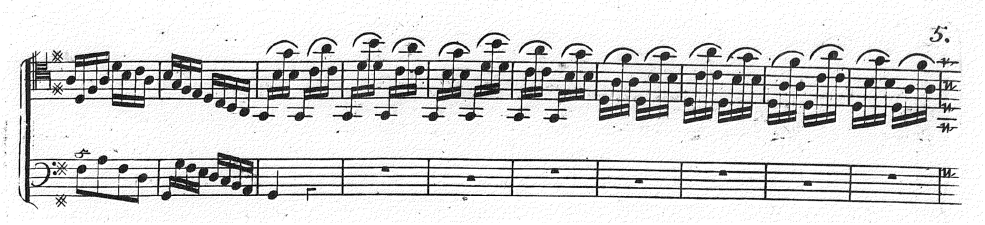
Ondeggiando is a specific technique that involves slurred oscillating between three or four strings. An example, drawn from the Cupis *Méthode*, is shown in Example 4.180. As can be seen, the *ondeggiando* technique can be used to arpeggiate chords, as in the Barrière example above. It is also used for more elaborate arpeggio patterns, and sometimes for non-arpeggio patterns, by using an open string so that the pitches are not in ascending order. An example from Masse's Op. 2 shows *ondeggiando* bowing in an unaccompanied passage (Example 4.181). In this case, it is similar to some of the arpeggio passages above, except that it is not notated in shorthand.



Example 4.179: Berteau, Sonata III, *Allegro.* Location: page 11, systems 4–6.

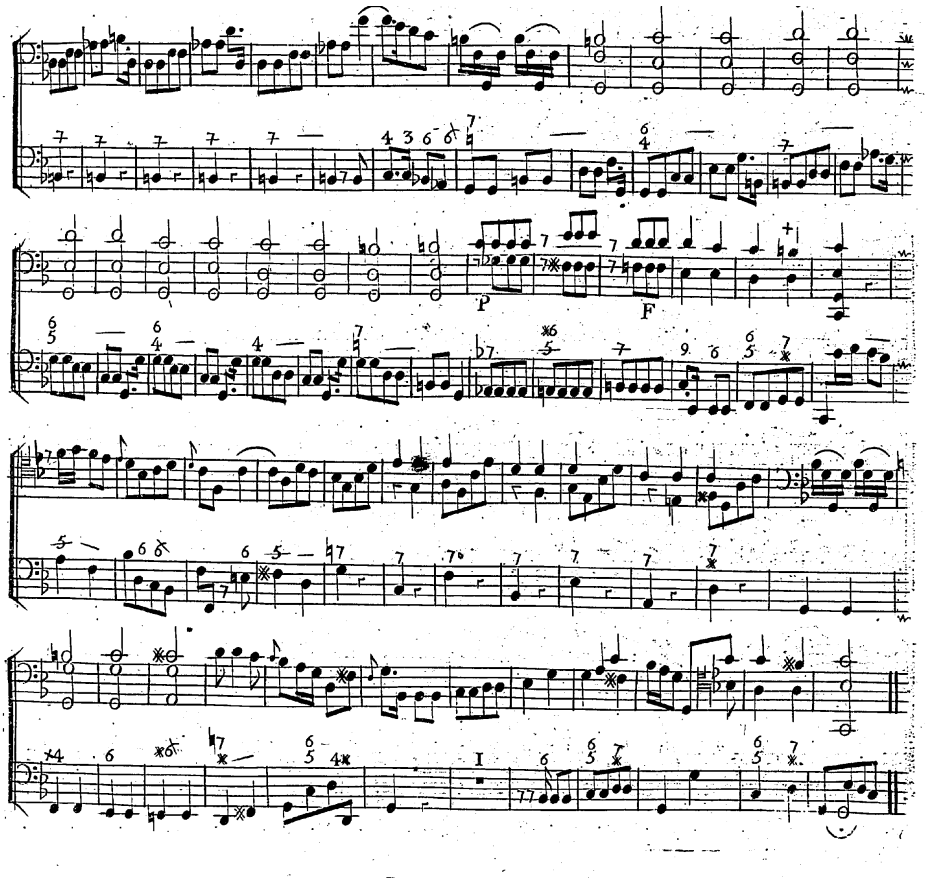


Example 4.180: Cupis, *Méthode nouvelle et raisonnée*, showing a typical *ondeggiando* bowing pattern. Location: page 11, second system.



Example 4.181: Masse, Op. 2, Sonata I, *Allegro assai*, showing a typical *ondeggiando* pattern. Location: page 5, first system.

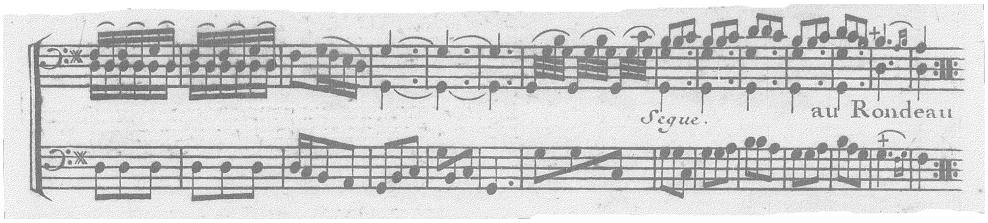
A similar example, starting this time on the upper note, is found in Baur's Sonata IV (Example 4.182). In this case, the shorthand used in the arpeggio examples discussed above is employed. The final example discussed here is from Blainville's Sonata I (Example 4.183). Like the Masse example (Example 4.181), it begins on the lower note. Note here that an interesting shorthand is used to notate the changing chords.



Example 4.182: Baur, Sonata IV, *Allegro,* showing two instances of *ondeggiando* bowing with notational shorthand and pattern given. Location: page 15, systems 3–6.

*

A variety of bow strokes, largely drawn from the violin idiom, were used in the French cello sonatas. This is in contrast to many non-French cello publications of this time, for example the sonatas of Somis and of Fesch, in which bowing is very sparsely notated. The advanced bow strokes include portato and slurred staccato (the latter more usually associated with the nineteenth century), as well as various string-crossing techniques: *batterie,*



Example 4.183: Blainville, Sonata I, *Rondeau–Allegretto,* showing *ondeggiando* bowing (in the second half of the extract) and its notational shorthand. Location: page 5, system 4.

brisure, and *bariolage,* as well as various patterns, including *ondeggiando,* for arpeggiating chords.

4.8 General observations: The Larger Context

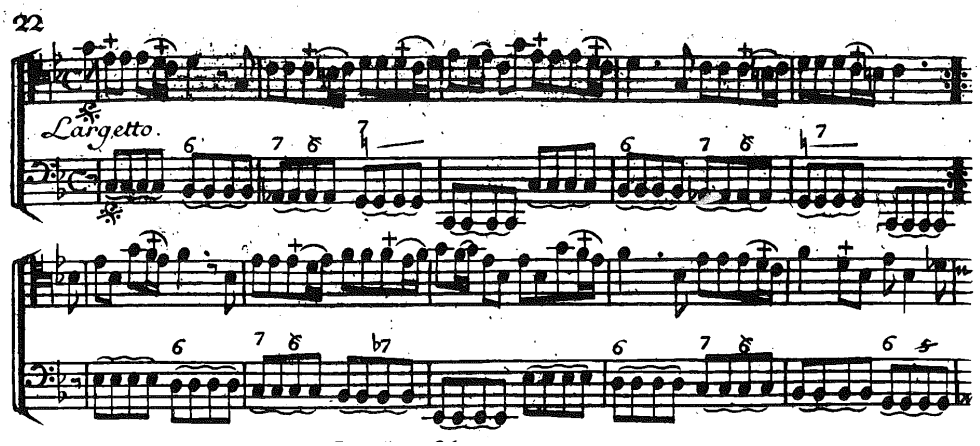
The Idiomatic Quality in Cello Writing

In any discussion of music for a solo instrument, the question always arises of how idiomatic is the music. This is even more pertinent where virtuosic solo display was not so much the instrument's customary purpose, as was provision of the bass support for an ensemble. In that sense, it is perhaps too easy to focus on new developments in technique and on passagework that can be played only on the cello, and to consider that the sonatas that incorporate these are the most idiomatic to the cello.

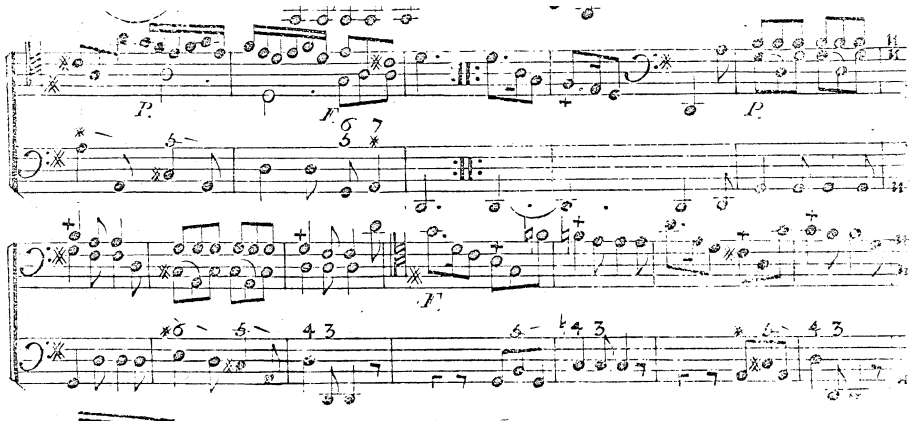
Moreover, those that are the most difficult to play are considered the most effective, often purely based on a visual assessment and without hearing them.[71] It is not always the case, however, that those sonatas with the most cello-specific techniques, such as double stops, harmonics, string-crossings and arpeggios across the strings, are necessarily the most musically satisfying. For example, the Berteau sonatas, which are replete with cellistic devices, seem somewhat uninspired musically, while a simple legato melody, such as the *Largetto* from Barrière's Sonata VI in Livre II, placed in the cello's cantabile register, has a unique timbral quality (Example 4.184). It that sense, 'idiomatic' may be considered as understanding and using the instrument's strengths, timbral as well as technical, rather than simply writing music that can be played on no other instrument. Another way in which sonatas can be idiomatic to the cello is through an appreciation that the tenor and bass registers of the instrument have quite different timbres and purposes, and

71. Anthony, p. 399, states for example that "Even a glance at the incipits of the Barrière sonatas reveals that we are no longer in the realm of works for cello *or* other instruments sharing the same range. Double stops abound and sweeping *tirades* of 32nd notes found in certain Adagio movements . . . would not be out of place in a Bach cello suite".

can be used to telling effect. This is the case in Martin's Sonata II: after the double bar, the low D which concludes the head motive contrasts strongly with the following double-stopped phrase on the A- and D- strings (itself answered on the D- and G- strings), as well as with the subsequent phrase in the upper tenor register. (Example 4.185).



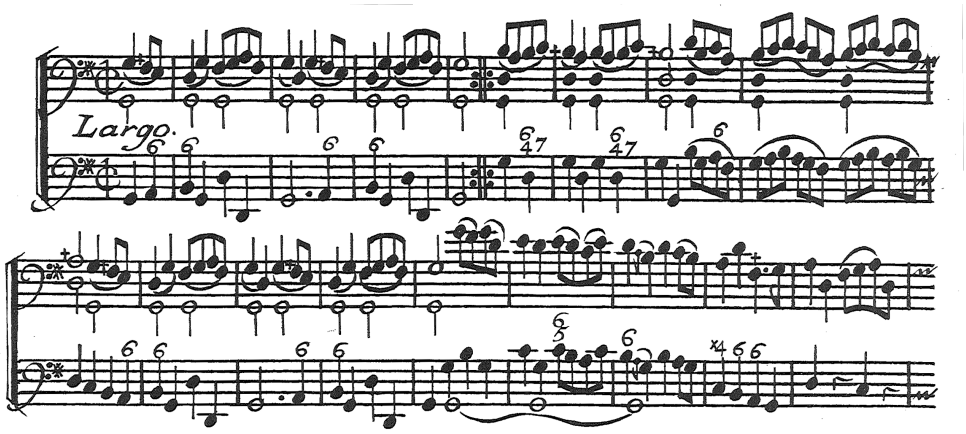
Example 4.184: Barrière, Livre II, Sonata VI, *Largetto.* Location: page 22, systems 1–2.



Example 4.185: Martin, Sonata II, *Sicilanna–Andante.* Location: page 6, systems 2–3.

It might also be remarked that detailed analysis in the present study shows there is little correlation between the presence of alternative instrumentation on the title page and whether or not the sonatas therein are conceived specifically for the cello. For example, there are effective passages which are entirely idiomatic to the cello in Boismortier's sonatas Opp. 26 and 50, even though these were marketed as for cello, bassoon or viola da gamba. In the third movement of Sonata II in Op. 50, for example, there are

double-stop drones which can be played only on the cello, due to the tuning required (Example 4.186).



Example 4.186: Boismortier, Op. 50, Sonata II, *Largo.* Location: page 7, systems 2–3.

The Use of Techniques Within the Entire Movement

In the previous sections we have examined individual techniques in isolation. Here, we attempt to see how the composers combined these techniques within entire movements.[72] Throughout the early French cello repertoire, a common characteristic is that technique—particularly virtuosic technique—is used not purely for its own sake but also to underpin and emphasize the musical structure. Depending on the tempo of the movement, the level of virtuosity of the sonata, and the composer's inclination, there are variations in how this occurs. This section will explore four case studies to show how technique and texture are used to clarify structure.

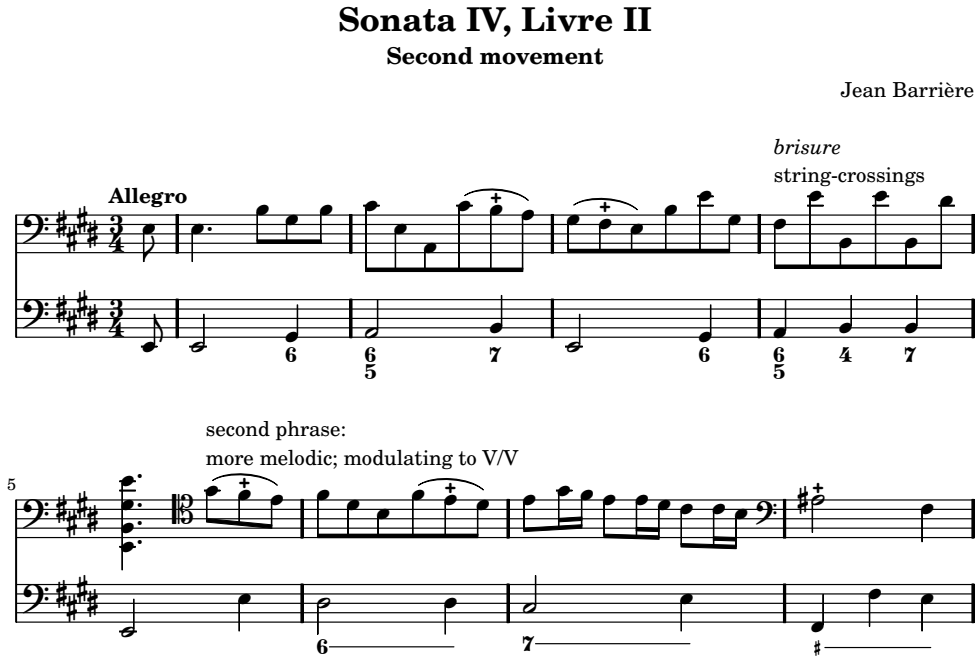
In most of Barrière's sonatas, technical, rather than purely musical consideration, is to the fore. The second movement, *Allegro,* from Sonata IV in Livre II is an example of how a movement evolves from the use of different techniques and textures.

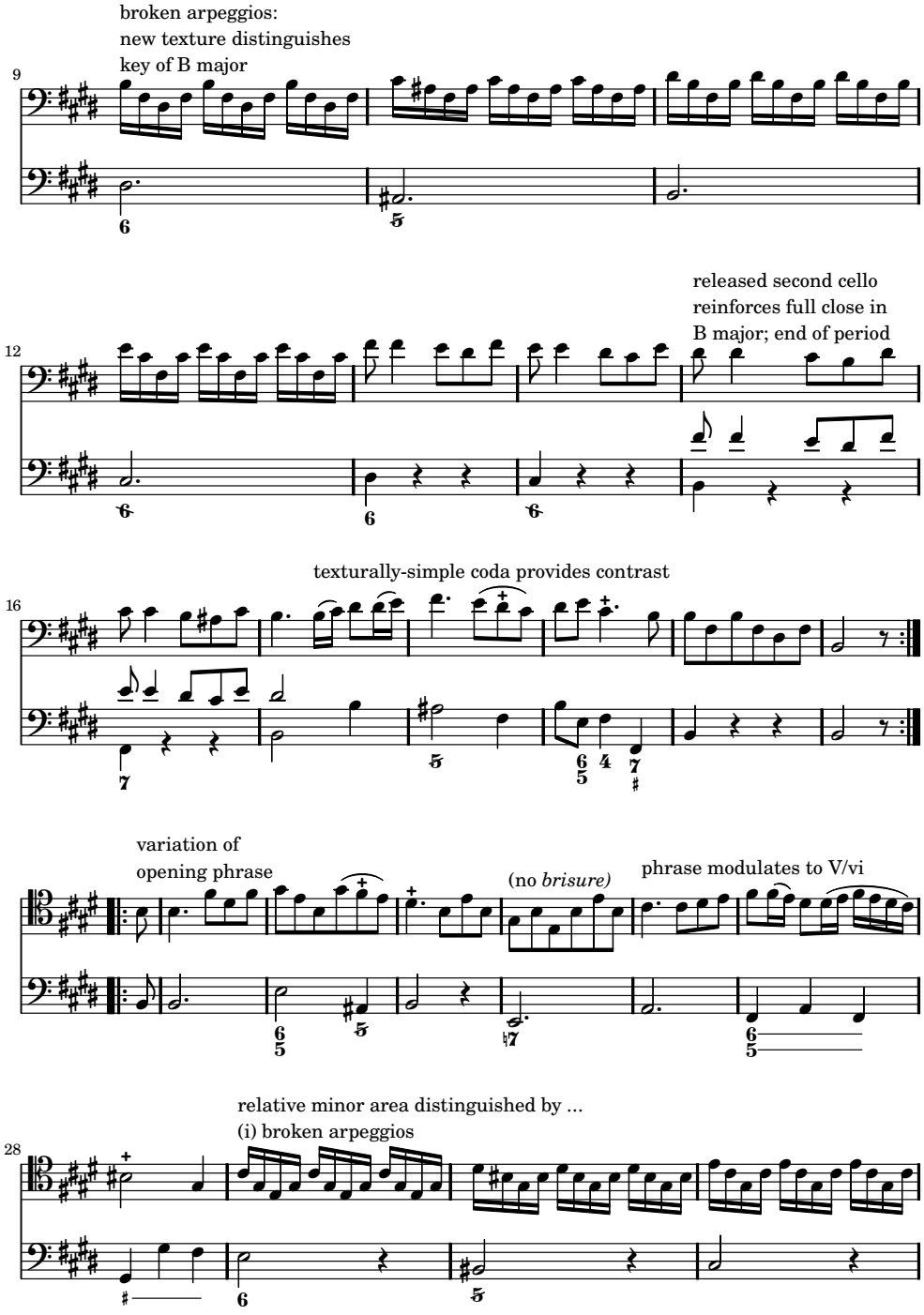
The first half of the movement is structured in a series of regular four-bar phrases, each of which exhibits a different tconstitute the structure of a movementexture. The opening phrase, which establishes the tonic, is firmly closed through the use of both *brisure* string-crossings on the dominant harmony, and a quadruple-stop chord on the tonic. A second phrase, more melodic in character and without any virtuosic technique, leading to a

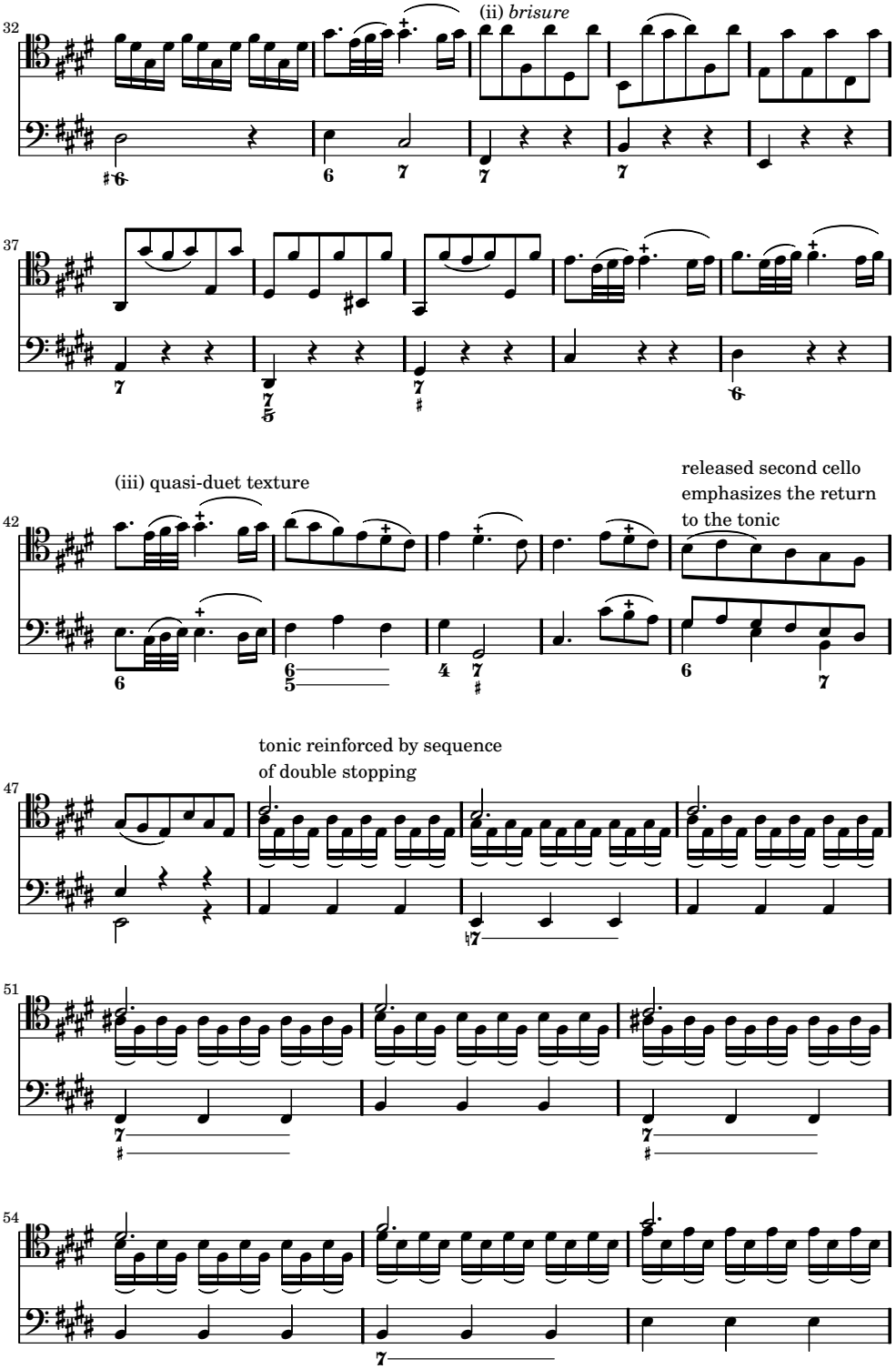
72. All the following examples are transcriptions from the primary sources and are not to be taken as critical editions.

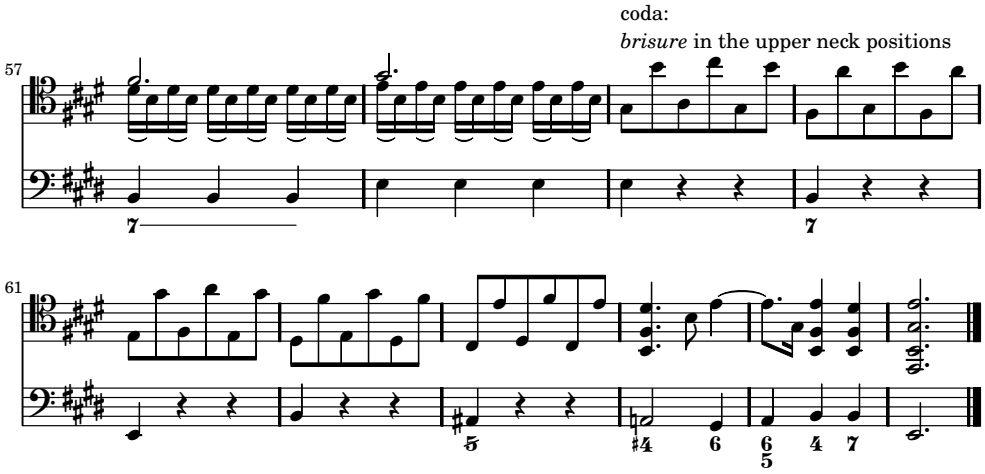
secondary dominant chord, is followed by broken arpeggios in a new tonal area (the dominant). This key is cemented by a new technique that sees the continuo cello released to echo the solo line in thirds above its descending pattern. A final melodic phrase is a coda which, without the released second cello, reaffirms the dominant harmony through its textural simplicity, providing a strong contrast with the preceding phrase.

The second half has a slightly varied opening which sees the *brisure* and the stopped chord replaced by a modulation to the relative minor. The structural importance of this new tonality at the centre of the second half is firmly emphasized by two techniques in succession: broken arpeggios (bar 29–33), and a rather more virtuosic *brisure* passage in the upper neck positions (bars 34–39); the minor-mode section ends in a quasi-duet texture (bars 40–44). The release of the second cello then emphasizes the structural return to the tonic at bar 47. This tonality is reinforced in a two-bar sequential passage of a further variant of the chordal double-stopping technique with the upper note sustained and the lower note spread into an arpeggio pattern. *Brisure* technique underpins the cadential coda, which closes in triple- and quadruple-stop chords. The cumulative use of technique is obvious with final double stopping echoing the single-line arpeggio chords earlier in the movement and the *brisure* now involving the highest register used in the movement. The underpinning of the tonal areas by technique and texture is also readily apparent.



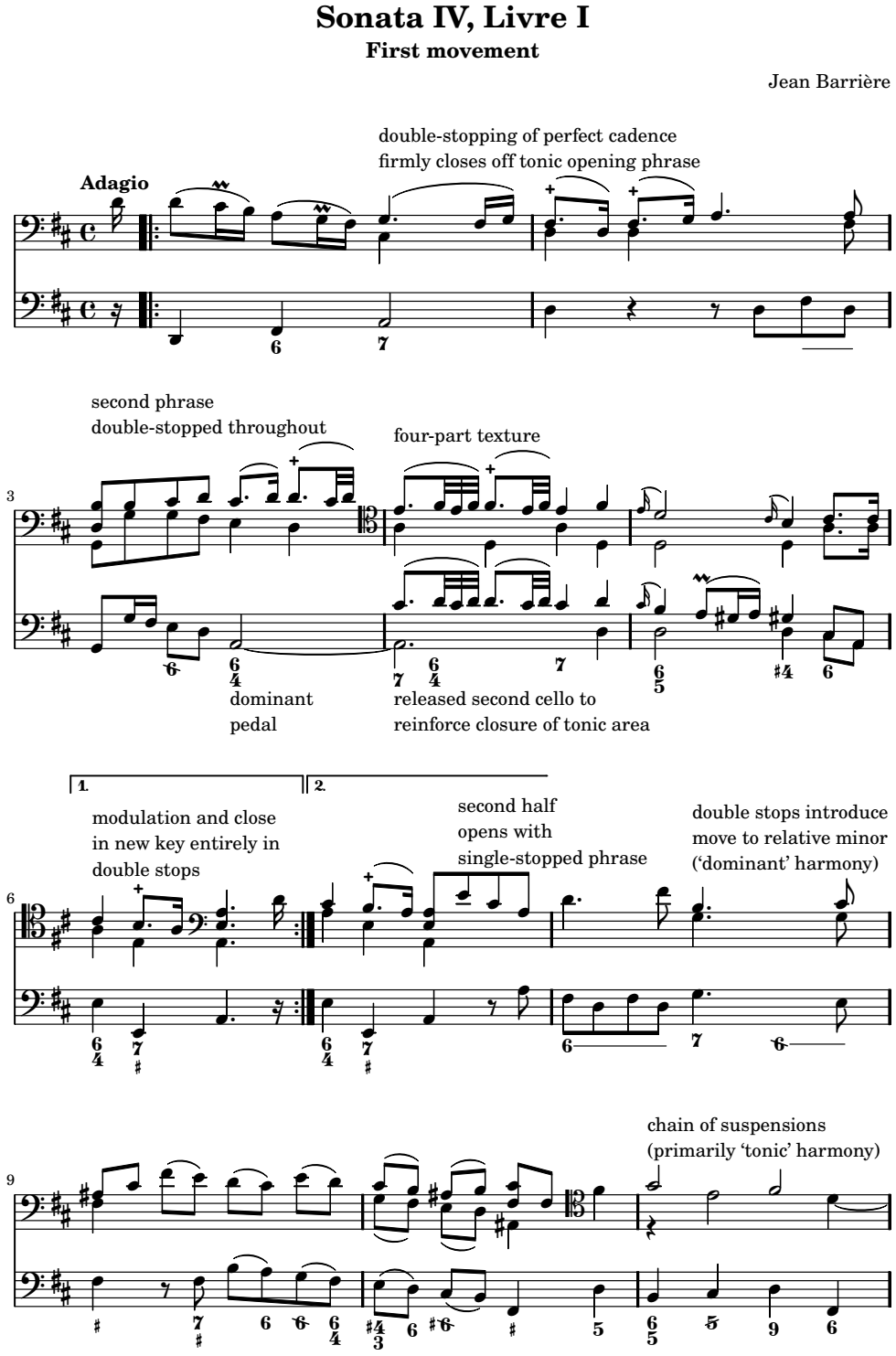

broken arpeggios:
new texture distinguishes
key of B major
9
released second cello
reinforces full close in
B major; end of period
12
texturally-simple coda provides contrast
16
variation of
opening phrase
(no *brisure)*
phrase modulates to V/vi
relative minor area distinguished by ...
(i) broken arpeggios
28

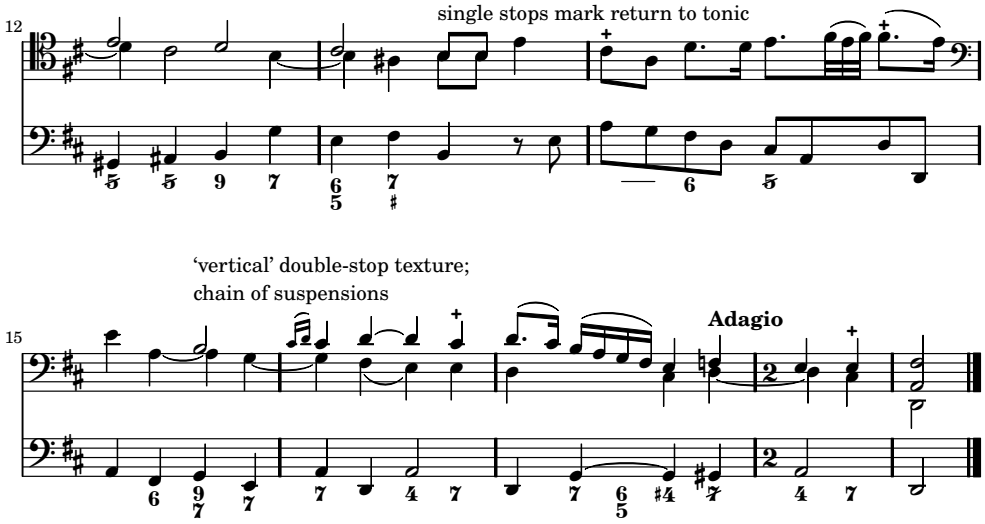

32
(ii) brisure
37
(iii) quasi-duet texture
released second cello
emphasizes the return
to the tonic
42
tonic reinforced by sequence
of double stopping
47
51
54



The use of double stopping in *Allegro* movements is somewhat restricted (although still virtuosic), as exemplified in the above example. The slow-tempo movements allow for a more thorough exploration of this technique, well demonstrated in the opening movement from Sonata IV in Livre I by Barrière. It is combined with the technique of the released second cello in the exploration of textures which provides a sense of ongoing colouring through the varied 'accumulation of sound'. Barrière's intensive working of this technique is apparent in the six-bar first half of the movement. This half falls into three sections. The first closes with the double-stop perfect cadence over bars 1–2. The second, in continuous double stopping, is rounded off by the release of the second cello above the dominant pedal (bar 4) to create a four-part texture which continues into the third section for the restatement of the dominant of the new key, and resolves into double stopping for the cadential close. This is a hugely intricate handling of texture where the change is not only bar-to-bar, but also within a single bar. At the same time, the cumulative effect from the single-line opening to the firm cadence gives an overall direction to the music.

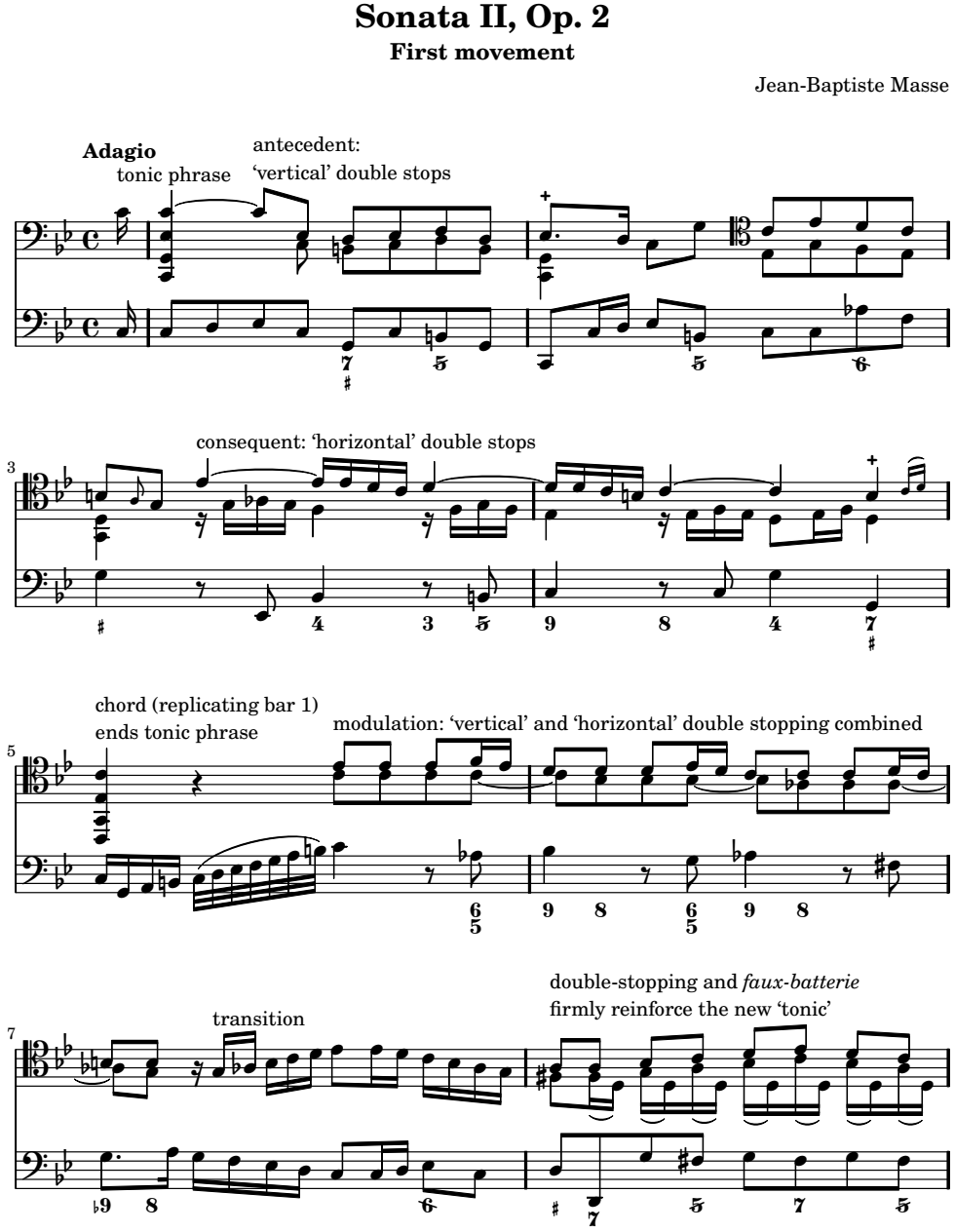
The 'accumulation of sound' is also in evidence in the second half of the movement, which, like the first half, opens with a single-stopped phrase; double stops introduce the tonal move to the relative minor. This new key area is reinforced first by a two- to three-part imitative texture with double stopping (predominantly dominant harmony) added in bar 10 and then by a double-stopped chain of suspensions (predominantly 'tonic (B minor) harmony, bars 11–13). A change to single-line texture introduces the return to the original tonic (bars 13–15), which is confirmed by a very firm vertical double-stopped texture elaborating the chain of suspensions of bars 11–13.

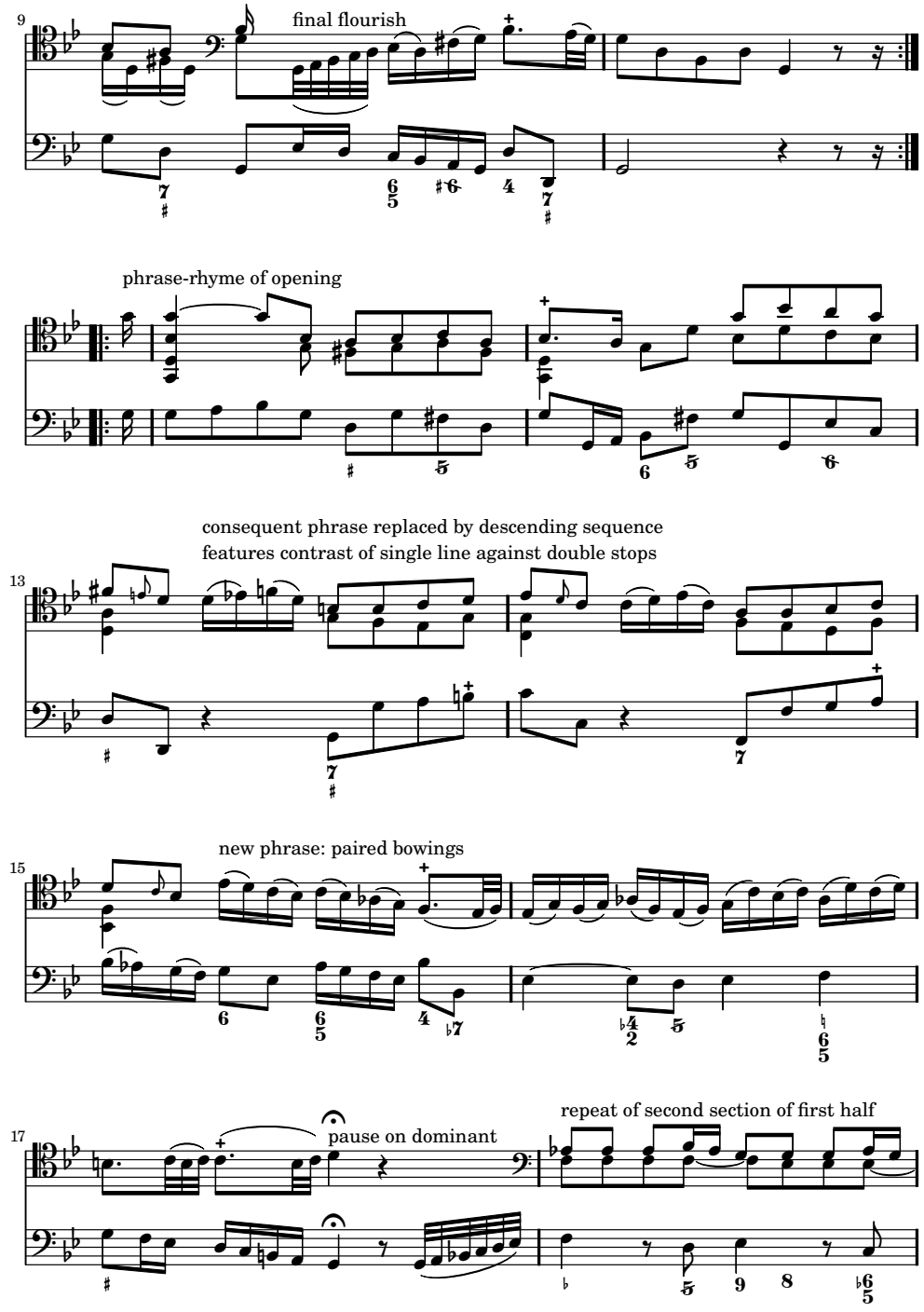

Sonata IV, Livre I
First movement
Jean Barrière
Adagio
double-stopping of perfect cadence
firmly closes off tonic opening phrase
second phrase
double-stopped throughout
four-part texture
dominant
pedal
released second cello to
reinforce closure of tonic area
1.
2.
modulation and close
in new key entirely in
double stops
second half
opens with
single-stopped phrase
double stops introduce
move to relative minor
('dominant' harmony)
chain of suspensions
(primarily 'tonic' harmony)

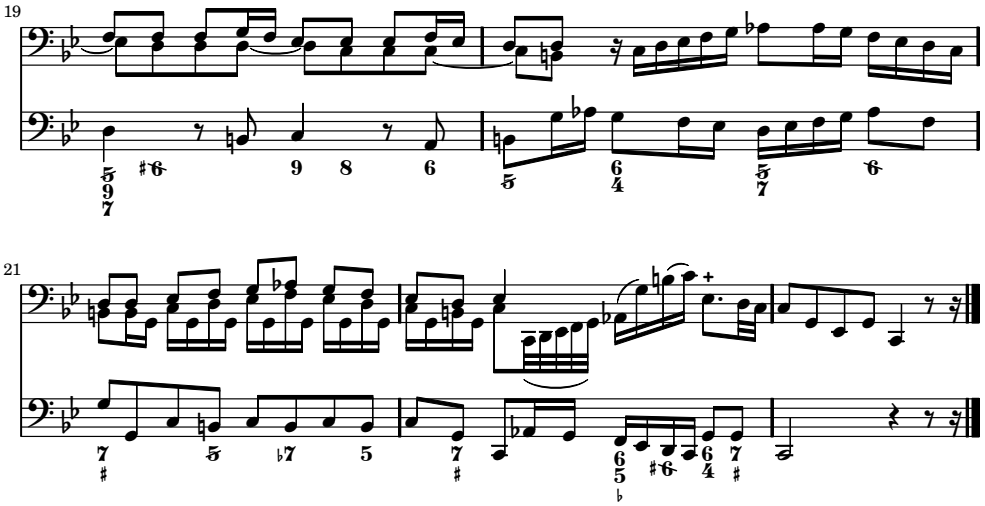


Similar use of varied double-stopping textures can also be found in sonatas by Masse. A pertinent example is the opening movement, *Adagio,* of Sonata II, Op. 2. Two contrasted textures in double stops divide the four-bar opening phrase into antecedent and consequent passages. The former has a progression of 'vertical' double stops, first on the D- and G- strings, then, moving to the V chord, on the A- and D- strings. The consequent has a more 'horizontal' texture of two 'voices' answering each other in a chain of suspensions, and concludes on a four-note tonic chord replicating the gesture in bar 1. The modulation to the dominant close of the first half of the movement is achieved through two further double-stopping passages separated by a transition bar (bar 7). The first passage (bars 5(iii) -7(i)) arguably combines the previously distinct 'vertical' and 'horizontal' stoppings of bars 1–4; the second passage enlarges the stopping in thirds of bars 1, 5–6 with a *faux-batterie* (bars 8-9(i)) in semiquavers that drives home the new tonality in a succession of six V–I cadences, including a dominant pedal in the *batterie.* This latter passage suggests Masse saw certain techniques might be particularly suited to specific structural moments. A final single-stopped flourish before the central repeat bar-line reinforces the new key and provides textural contrast. The second half of the movement uses techniques in a similar way. It begins with a phrase rhyme but with the consequent of the opening replaced by a descending sequence that juxtaposes a single-stopped motive with a double-stopped response (bars 13-14). A further passage featuring paired bowing over adjacent (bar 15) then disjunct notes (bar 16) ends in a pause on the dominant. The remaining bars repeat the second section (bars 6-11) of the first half. The four variants of double-stopping in this movement well illustrate the colouristic potential French cellist-composers

explored within this technique and also the strong association of these variants with the unfolding of the structure of the movement.




9
final flourish
phrase-rhyme of opening
consequent phrase replaced by descending sequence
features contrast of single line against double stops
13
new phrase: paired bowings
15
repeat of second section of first half
pause on dominant
17



Like Barrière, Masse eschews continuous double stops in fast movements, showing a similar perception of which techniques and textures are appropriate within different contexts. Thus in the *Allegro ma non troppo* movement of Sonata II, Op. 2, a variety of bowing and string-crossing techniques, rather than double stops, delineates phrases and structure. In its overall structure the movement has technical 'islands' at the centre of each half surrounded by melodic and less overtly technical material. A point of imitation secures the tonic (bars 1–3(i)) with a melo-bass texture carrying on to the dominant conclusion at bar 6. Masse isolates the ensuing technical island tonally, confining it to the relative major, and heightening its appearance with a transition both of key (no modulation) and technique that clearly sets off the much more angular solo line. This can raise the question as to whether the basic motive (bar 7) has been conceived with the specific technique of articulation already in mind (that is, a 'technical' approach to composition) or if the articulation is arrived at subsequently to best emphasize the melodic/rhythmic nature of the motive (that is, a 'musical' approach).

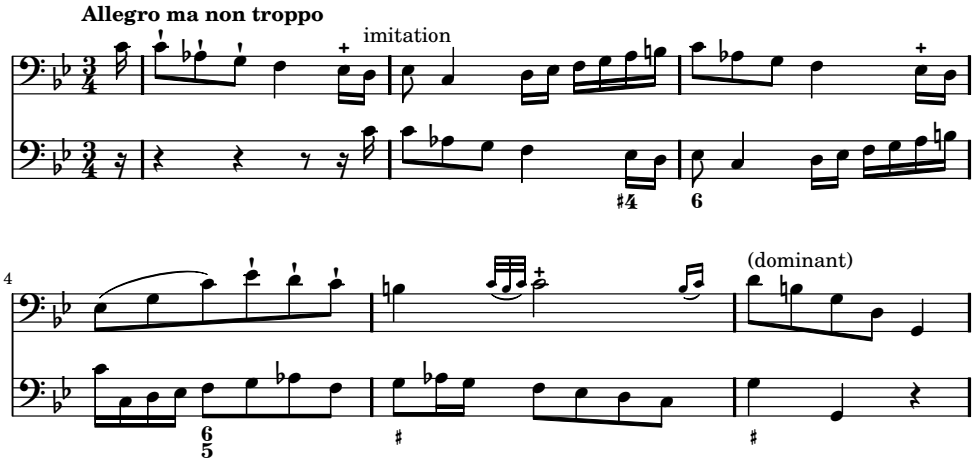
Whatever the answer, the pattern of a mix of staccato and bowed arpeggios across the strings emphasizes a strong right-hand technique. The abrupt change between bars 6 and 7 is replicated between bars 14 and 15. A new bowing technique, *brisure,* and the necessary change in melodic writing associated with this technique, followed by semiquaver runs closes the technical island and the E♭ major tonality (bar 19(i)). The melodic style returns for the remainder of the half which includes the repetition of the opening three bars (at bars 24–26) that halts on the only triple-stopped chord in the movement, V of the 'new' dominant tonality. This technical moment—and the calculated effect—is enhanced with the upper note trilled and a pause. The resolution comprises a rapid descent over two octaves.

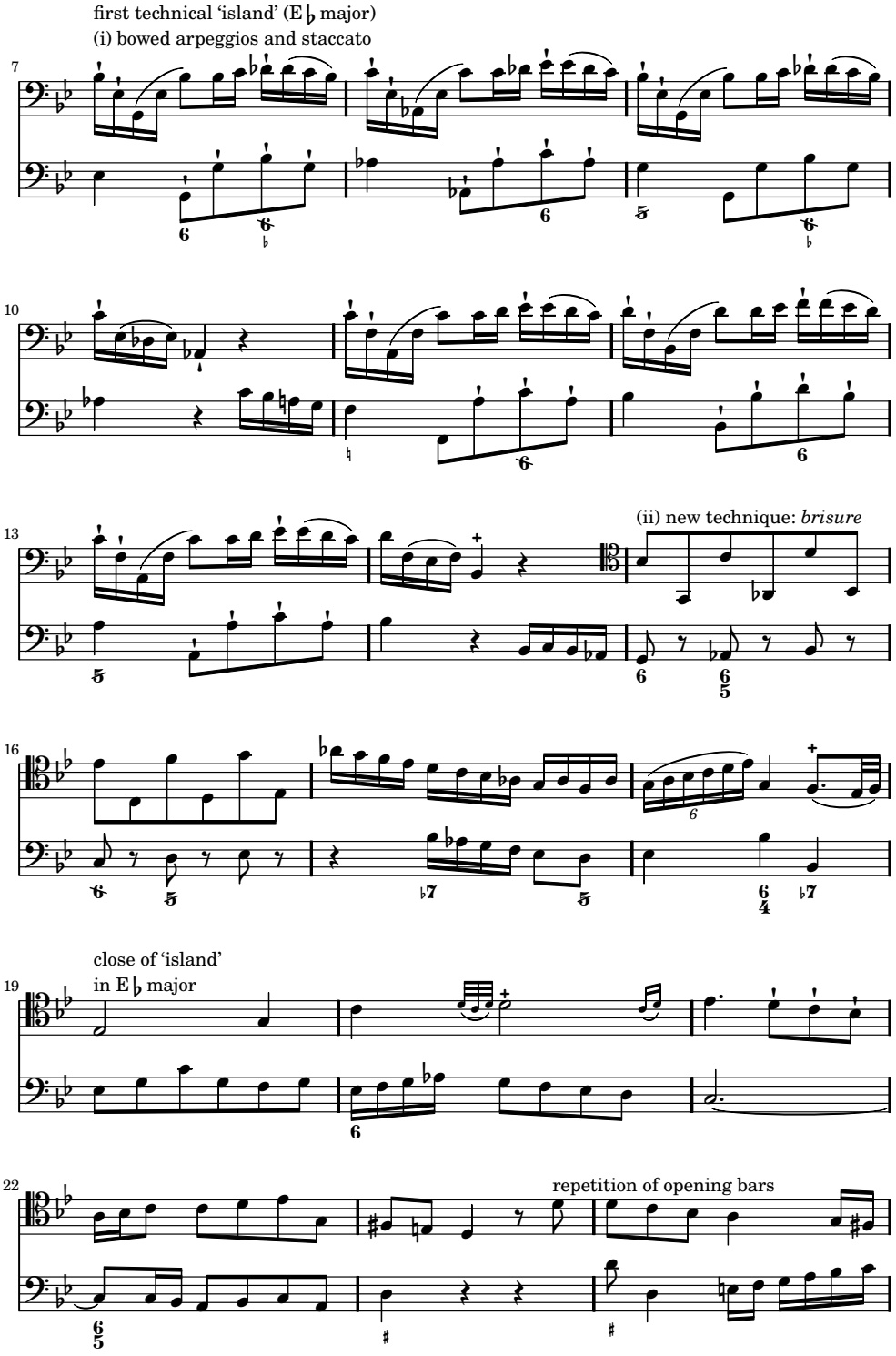
The technical island of the second half has a similar focus on bowing techniques and follows on from the matching rhyme of the opening bars of the movement (bars 33–38 = 1–6). This island also begins with the arpeggios-across-the-strings technique and motive although now prefaced with separate statements above a more active continuo line (bars 39–45). This passage switches abruptly into two bars of *batterie* (bars 51–52) rather than the brisure technique of the first half. A melodic transitional passage swings back to the dominant of the original tonic and the movement ends identically with the first half. Again Masse separates the technical island through tonality. The major mode again is employed but on-going modulations from C major to E♭ major replace the single tonality of the first island. The use of *batterie* would seem to confirm the suitability of certain techniques for certain structural moments proposed above. In this instance the pedal B♭ (lower note of the *batterie*) drives to the terminal cadence of the island (bars 53-54), and the E♭ major tonality is then swept away with a return to the minor mode for the melodic transitional passage and the concluding rhyme.

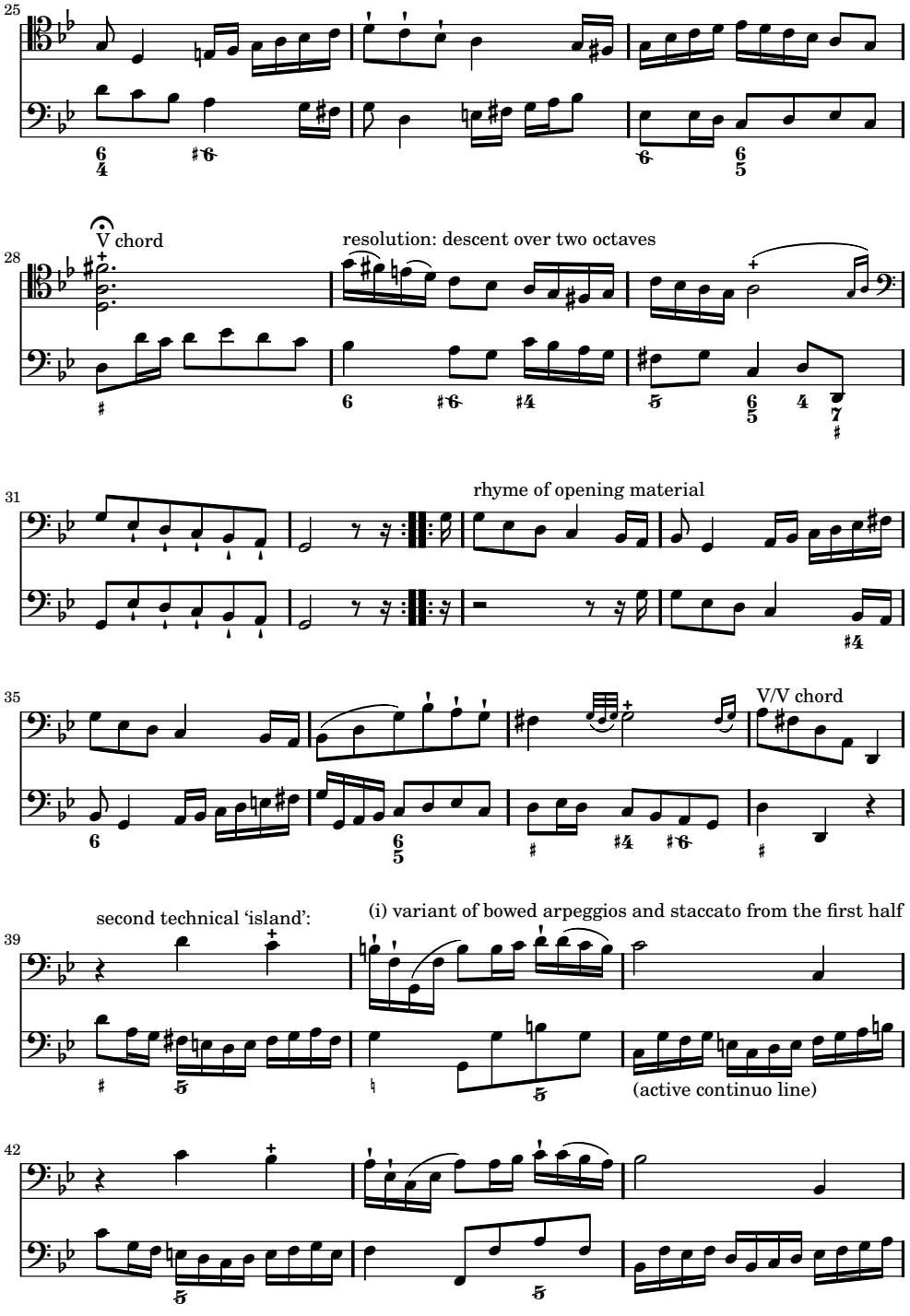
Sonata II, Op. 2

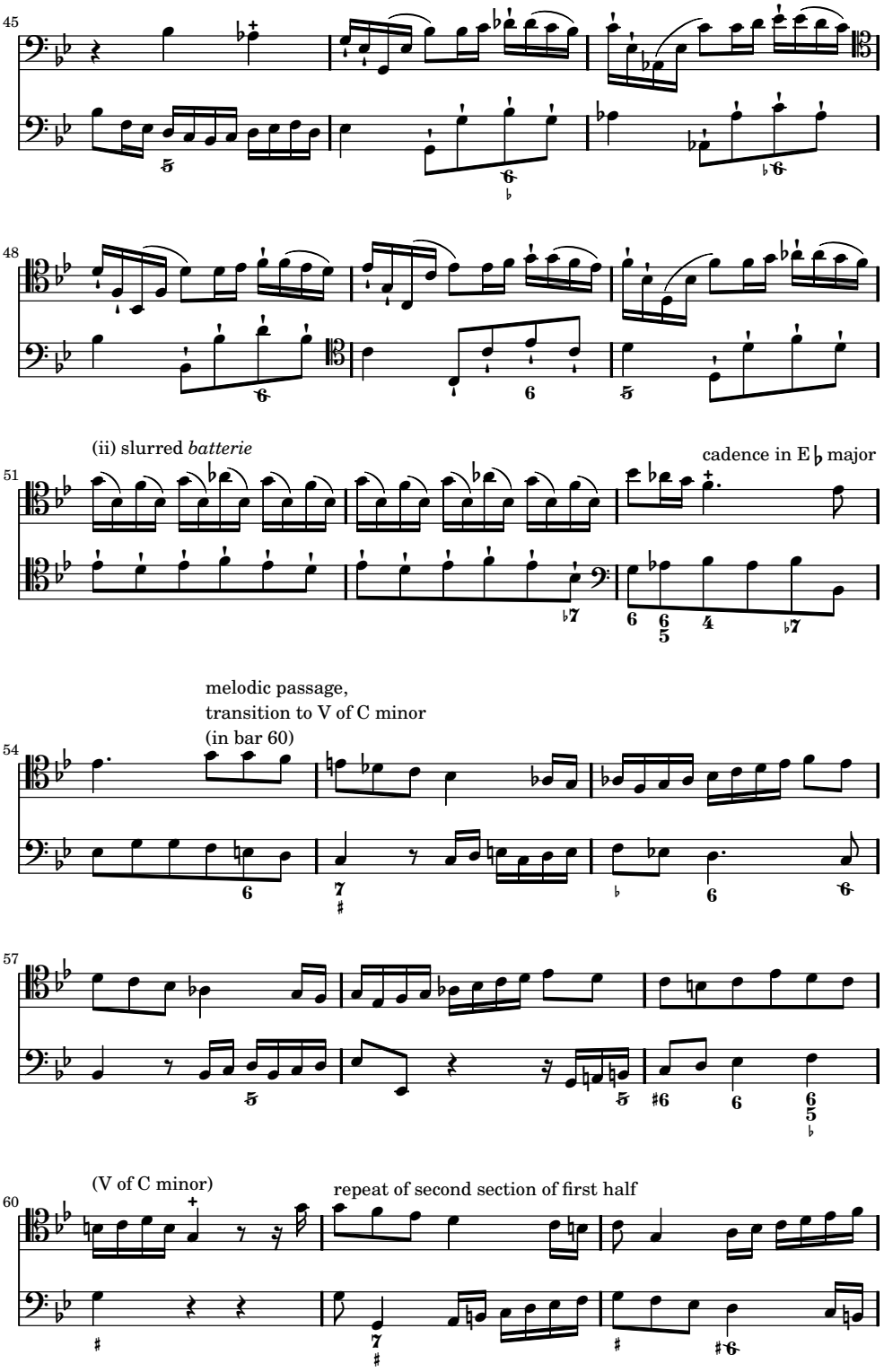
Second Movement

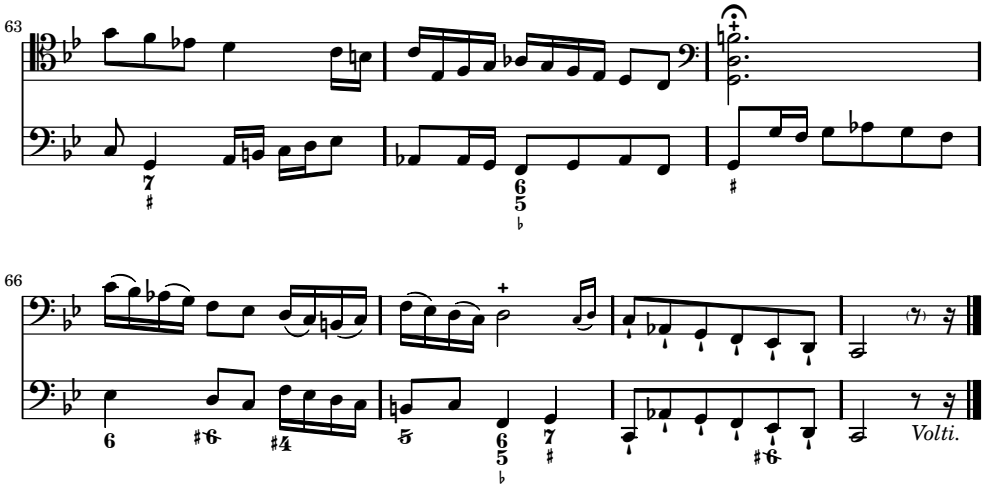
Jean-Baptiste Masse




first technical 'island' (E♭ major)
(i) bowed arpeggios and staccato
7
10
(ii) new technique: *brisure*
13
16
close of 'island'
in E♭ major
19
repetition of opening bars
22


25
28
V chord
resolution: descent over two octaves
31
rhyme of opening material
35
V/V chord
39
second technical 'island':
(i) variant of bowed arpeggios and staccato from the first half
(active continuo line)
42


45
48
(ii) slurred *batterie*
cadence in E♭ major
51
melodic passage,
transition to V of C minor
(in bar 60)
54
57
(V of C minor)
repeat of second section of first half
60



It can be seen from these examples that structure and technique are tightly integrated in the early French cello sonatas. This is in contrast to the majority of Italian and other non-French cello sonatas from the period, where such a combination of technique and texture to underpin the structural framework rarely appears. This gives further weight to the argument that the output of the early French cellist-composers gives them the right to be considered a distinct school.

Conclusion

This dissertation has examined in detail the rise of the cello in France, and traced the development of its solo repertoire and idiom, from its origins in the early eighteenth century to the advent of the Duport era the 1760s. Its primary aim has been to show that in terms of both repertoire and technique the cello in France in the years before the Duport school deserves thorough investigation and that serious consideration be given to regarding this half-century as a school in its own right.

The dissertation has been divided into two parts. Part I explored the cello's role and standing in the French, especially Parisian, musical institutions of the time and detailed the biographies of the key cellists and composers for the cello active in France. Chapter 1 examined the role of the cello in regard to the music of the court, the theatre, the role of patrons, concert life, the church and the French provinces, and the role of the Parisian music publishers. It argued that the cello became established in Parisian musical life through 'outsider' routes: cellists whether of French birth or arrivals from abroad found employment in unofficial and 'ad-hoc' theatre ensembles such as the spoken theatres (Comédie française and Comédie italienne) and the Fair Theatres more so than in established institutions such as the *Vingt-quatre violons*. Cellists only entered the orchestra of the long-established Opera from the 1730s. Italophile patrons such as the Duke of Orléans, and the Prince de Carignan were more significant than the royal court at encouraging the instrument. The salons, essentially private, non-official gatherings, provided an important forum for the performance and reception of cello sonatas. The solo cello repertoire was disseminated in Paris and beyond by two quite different eighteenth-century developments: the engraving technique, newly applied to music (which allowed music sellers and publishers to break the Ballard firm's monopoly on music printing); and the *Concert Spirituel*, inaugurated in 1725, which, due to its use of a large performing space and the taste of its audience for virtuosity, favoured the cello over the viola da gamba. Socio-cultural and political changes in Parisian society at this time allowed these new institutions to become mainstream, and thus the cello quickly became established in French musical life.

Chapter 2 re-examined the biographies of the cellists and cellist-composers active in France, placing them in the socio-cultural context established in Chapter 1. It found that several cellists prominent in Paris were educated in the provinces, particularly in the region around Bordeaux (the L'abbé brothers, Giraud, Barrière). In all, cellists from the provinces or from outside of France had played a key role in Parisian musical life. In Paris, the Opéra was the most significant employer of cellists; in addition, a number of cellists and composers for the cello were associated with the Fair Theatres (Boismortier, Corrette, L'abbé, Baur).

Part II of the dissertation has focused on the instrument itself and its repertoire. Chapter 3 has been devoted to the instrument and basic elements of technique. It has been argued that the cello at this time was the standard four-string instrument, tuned *C–G–d–a.* While variants such as five-stringed cellos were also in Paris at the time, internal musical evidence shows the solo repertoire was intended for a four-string cello. It is proposed that an instrument with a considerably shorter string-length may have been used for the sonatas in Barrière's Livre I (1733), thus solving the problem of apparently difficult stretches. The chapter also argued that French cellists used an overhand bow hold, influenced by the *basse de violon* players, in contrast to the underhand grip still common outside of France. There is less direct evidence in regard to fingering techniques. Corrette's unwieldy omission of the third finger in the lower positions seems unlikely to have been used, especially by musicians already fluent in the use of all four fingers on the *basse de violon* or the viola da gamba. However, the diatonic fingering pattern from the third position onwards, as given by Corrette, combined with the use of all four fingers, solves some otherwise awkward passages in the repertoire. The instrument hold itself was the 'da gamba' hold although some Italians (Bononcini, Lanzetti) visiting Paris may have used the *da spalla* hold. The use of the da gamba hold among French cellists perhaps was influenced by the prestige of the viola da gamba.

Chapter 4, the heart of this dissertation, has presented a detailed analysis of technique and idiom in the French cello sonatas. It is argued that through a deliberate search, the French cellist-composers achieved a distinctive yet appropriate cello idiom which, while acknowledging the cello's Italianate origins and the newly-fashionable obvious virtuosity in Parisian concert life, incorporates and expands Gallic elements treasured by the French.

The hallmarks of this idiom may be defined in terms of left hand technique, texture, and virtuoso bowing. The extensive use of double stopping, likely influenced by the French viol school, is used to express virtuosity in the difficult sonatas by Barrière, but is also included in sonatas conceived for the amateur market, such as those of Boismortier. It is a technique that is

used not only far more frequently than in Italian sonatas but it also seems deliberately to create a quite distinctive style of writing. The continuo cello is frequently 'released' to play an inner part, creating a quasi trio sonata texture within the solo sonata. And this, too, may be seen as a Gallic element—a sophisticated and distinct departure from the Italian sonatas. Both of these techniques are called upon to emphasize structural elements in the music, such as rhyming elements in binary form movements, and extended pedal points. A wide range of virtuosic bowing techniques borrowed from contemporary violin writing, including *brisure, batterie, bariolage* and *ondeggiando,* are firmly embedded in the French cello sonatas, pushing right-hand technique beyond that of most Italian examples. On the basis of the consistent use of these features we can well argue for a distinctive idiom in early French cello writing.

This idiom is embedded in a repertoire that moves from a style, exemplified by Barrière's early Livres I and II, Masse's Op. 1 and 2, and sonatas by Boismortier (c 1730s), that is characterized by rich double stopping and a tessitura grounded in the lower-middle registers (so acknowledging the French viol school and the *style luthé* of the harpsichord school of Couperin and his contemporaries) to one (c. 1740–1760 and best represented by Berteau, Patouart, and Giraud) that, influenced by the Galant traits, uses the upper registers more extensively and dispenses with the thick double stopping of the preceding decade. This idiom is the fundamental basis for the claim of an independent and unique early French cello school in the decades before the so-called Duport school of cello playing.

The prime argument of this dissertation is that a distinctive French school developed in France in the years before 1760. While Barrière and Berteau are the best known of the early French cellists, a number of other cellist-composers active in Paris contributed to this nascent French cello school. These early French cellists pushed the boundaries of technique and often displayed it in music of considerable quality, leaving a substantial legacy that now deserves a more thorough exploration via studies of individuals beyond Berteau and Barrière, by publication in reliable scholarly editions, and by inclusion of much more of this repertoire in concert programmes and recordings. This thesis represents a first step in these directions.

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